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THE PASSING AND THE PERMANENT IN ST. PAUL

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THE PASSING AND THE PERMANENT IN ST. PAUL

STUDIES IN PAULINE ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND VALUES

BY

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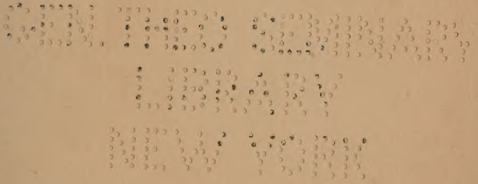
AUTHOR OF "THE TRANSLATION OF FAITH"



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"Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away. . . . But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love."—I Corinthians xiii.

"Even as they list the winds of the Spirit blow
To turn or break our century-rusted vanes:
Sands shift and waste: the rock alone remains
Where, led of Heaven, the strong tides come and go,
And storm clouds, rent by thunderbolt and wind,
Leave, free of mist, the permanent stars behind.

"Therefore I trust, although to outward sense
Both true and false seem shaken; I will hold
With newer light my reverence for the old,
And calmly wait the births of Providence.
No gain is lost: the clear-eyed saints look down
Untroubled on the wreck of schemes and creeds:
Love yet remains, its rosary of good deeds
Counting in task-field and o'er-peopled town:
Truth has charmed life! The Inward Word survives,
And day by day, its revelation brings:
Faith, hope and charity, whatsoever things
Which cannot be shaken, stand. Still holy lives
Reveal the Christ of whom the letter told,
And the new gospel verifies the old."

Whittier: "Adjustment."

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	PROPHETIC, APOCALYPTIC AND SACRAMENTAL FAITH	1
II.	PAUL: THE INTELLECTUAL DEBTOR TO JEW AND GREEK	39
III.	THE EARLIER STAGE OF PAUL'S MINISTRY AND THOUGHT	71
IV.	DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOGOS AND THE MYSTERIES	98
V.	THE PAULINE SYSTEM OF SALVATION BY FAITH	133
VI.	THE MYSTIC FACTOR IN PAUL'S DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH, THE SACRAMENTS AND ETERNAL LIFE	167
VII.	GENERAL TRAITS AND ACHIEVEMENTS.—CONCLUSIONS	205
	LIST OF REFERENCES TO TEXTS	237
	INDEX	239

CHAPTER I

PROPHETIC, APOCALYPTIC AND SACRAMENTAL FAITH

The General Question: Principle of Study—Search for elements of universal experience beneath Pauline forms—Value of the quest—The three types of Religion—(*a*) *Prophetic Faith*—Revelation as religious discovery—Theology as the science of religion—Data for prophetic religion; implications of science and philosophy; the laws of nature, sub-human and human; moral experience; the cosmic intuitions of Mysticism—A religious "Return to Nature"—The claimed insufficiency of this type—(*b*) *Apocalyptic Faith*—The wide sense of the term as Theosophic Supernaturalism—The many and fundamental differences between prophetic and apocalyptic faith. The two types found side by side in Christianity—The need of distinguishing the two—Reasons for the popularity of apocalyptic—Dramatic arrest—Insufficiency of half-evolved liberalism—Craving for a quick escape from the present distress—The epistemological difficulty of apocalypse—A legitimate conception of apocalypse as symbolic expression of cosmic intuitions—The double significance of apocalyptic and historic truth, which have come together in the life of Jesus, accounts for most of our Christological problems—Second Adventism; the cosmic triumph of right and love—The question of apocalyptic "accommodation"—Apocalyptic doctrines which are *expressions* of intuitive faith, wrongly taken as *sources* of faith—Prophetic equivalents of apocalyptic beliefs—A prophetic view of Incarnation—Being and Becoming—Human and Divine Personality ultimately inseparable—In Jesus, full of grace and truth, we see the Father—The errors of Pantheism avoided by a doctrine of values—Jesus must be truly human to manifest the moral Divine—Mediatorship, false and true—Salvation, Atonement, Redemption must be conceived along lines of mental, moral and spiritual law—The reading of apocalyptic theologies and creeds in a new light—Prophetic interpretation—(*c*) *Sacramental Faith*—Impartation of spiritual grace through material form and physical acts—The claim for an *ex opere operato* sacramental process in Paul—Against this, there is Paul's attitude towards religious externalities—Need of distinguishing the sacramental principle of life, the revealing of spirit through matter, and "sympathetic magic"; imparting

semi-physical spirit through physical act—Lake's three "anti-Catholic" statements—Apocalypse and Sacrament have only value in as far as they express "prophetic" Faith—Paul's central "prophetic" interest.

I

The method of reading any of the New Testament writings as work of one level or value, can, of course, no longer be defended. We are compelled to make discriminations of worth, distinguish between passing and permanent, search out master principles which will explain all else, and place as well as we can, material which should lie at the centre, and that which belongs to the outer and secondary region of New Testament thought. We have to ask—where lies eternal truth and significance? What is the life of Christianity, and what is only temporary garment for that spiritual soul of things which does not lose its value with the passing of generations? What is there to be "translated" into our own modern life and experience, and be intelligible and appealing in our own modern terms? What were the strictly essential elements in New Testament teaching, the elements vital to the life of the Church, and necessary to explain its activities and religious faith and zeal? What may we grant to criticism without surrendering the essentials of Christianity? On the answering of these questions depends not only the nature of our modern use of New Testament writings, but even deeper and larger concerns of what Christianity essentially is.

II

We must at the outset, determine our principle of interpretation in a task of this kind. We may distinguish three methods of Scripture study. (*a*) The first is the reading of the Scriptures, or the special study of an author, in the interests of Church dogma or even of its unwritten orthodoxy. The weakness of

this method, we conceive, does not lie in coming to the study with a definite and controlling interest: discovery can hardly be made without a guiding quest, without a theory to be tested, without expectation on certain definite lines, and consequent sensitiveness to certain elements. The trouble with this particular approach lies in the fact that the dogma for which support is sought, is itself the outcome of older Scripture study undertaken in less enlightened and unscientific ages. Church dogma, from its very nature, may be regarded largely as arrested or stereotyped early interpretation of these writings which we are seeking to interpret again with some freshness of spirit and in the light of new knowledge and with the aid of new methods.

(*b*) The second line of study is to let the writers speak for themselves, freeing the mind as far as possible from any dogmatic or doctrinaire quests. This method is valuable as a stage of emancipation from dogmatic interpretation. But it is only preliminary to a further process in which subjective appreciation and valuation plays a greater part. It is not enough to know what an ancient writer thinks: it is necessary to measure his thinking by a standard which has gradually been created by much that has come to the race-consciousness since the age in which he wrote. In any adequate study of an ancient writer, we must relate his thinking to eternal and universal experience, as far as we have come to conceive it. It is by no means absurd to claim that Paul's mind may be known better to-day than he knew it himself. True interpretation must not merely reproduce, but add something to the original.

(*c*) Thus we come to the third method of study and interpretation, in which we seek to make this relation between a writer's thought and eternal and universal experience and our fullest conception of truth and value. We must come to our study not merely

seeking to know what Paul thought, but what elements of experience underlay his thinking: not merely *what* he did and said, but *why* he did it and said it: his feelings, motives, inspirations: and we must further seek to trace beneath all his speculation, theory and message, certain universal experiences and truths, which have become more clearly manifest as such, in the development of thought and knowledge since Paul's day. If the question be asked—what value, then, in ancient writers, why trouble with them at all if we are only to discover in them what we have come to believe now in clearer form? the answers must be—firstly that our religious thought is largely inherited from these classic religious writers and that this historical circumstance compels us to trace the eternal experience and truth under the ancient thought-forms in order to give these ancient thought-forms incorporated into our language of doctrine, a living intelligible value: and secondly that there is an importance in ancient witness, in strengthening our belief in the universality and fundamentalism of the few master intuitions and experiences of faith, hope and love, traceable under all doctrines that have meant much to the world. Truth must have a wide base of history. The dangers of subjectivism must be avoided by finding what we feel is true under forms of thought in other ages testifying to similar workings of soul and processes of life. Further, we deal in the life and work of Paul with one who has touched the souls of men in every succeeding generation and whose teaching bears the significance of that fact. Paul does not stand as an isolated figure. The long history of his appeal and influence gives him a representative rôle, and in him epochs of religious experience are gathered up and may be studied.

With this third method of study, we do not come to our subject with quite blank and passive minds. We come with a theory to be tested, a philosophy of religion

or which we seek further support and demonstration. f the theory holds, the results will be mutual. The heory will be strengthened: and a key will be provided o the interpretation of New Testament thought. We nust take into account the phenomenon of Paul and Paulinism in determining the nature of our own eligion: conversely we must read Paul and Paulinism n the light of our own day, and relate his teaching o the wider conceptions of universal religion.

III

The quest for the vital and essential element in Christianity in general involves us in the considera- ion of three types or interpretations of religion, vhich, despite frequent historical intermingling, are undamentally distinct. It may be possible to trace ıltimate relations between them, but these do not ie on the surface, and in popular thought these are often not realized at all. These are the Prophetic, Apocalyptic and Sacramental types of religion.

A.—Prophetic Faith

The first type finds the seat of ultimate religious authority in experience and life itself. Revelation s another name for religious discovery, and theology becomes a science of religion. It interprets the supernatural, not as the unnatural but as the natural implying and signifying God, and needing Him for the basis and ultimate explanation of what we call natural. Knowledge gained by religious discovery it regards as no less a gift from God than if a miracle book had been dropped from the skies, for both the data, and the faculty of man to appreciate the data, come from God. If advocates of this type should be challenged with the criticism that there is no unanimity of judgment with such "natural" religion, they will answer that they are

working with methods which have given men the other knowledge of life, which is felt to be in general reliable. Men do not claim finality and infallibility for their scientific theories, but they feel that they are never out of touch with realities, and that they are employing methods which will, in the long run, correct their errors.

There are more than one set of data for such a science of religion. The implications of science and philosophy lead up to God. "All we think best in human culture, whether associated with beauty, goodness or knowledge, requires God for its support. Humanism without Theism loses half its value" (A. J. Balfour, "Theism and Humanism," p. 248). Or again, in the workings out of history, in the social behaviour of men under various conditions, in the results of social experiments and political policies, the will of God spells itself out for those who have eyes to see. Man has a practical faculty by means of which he realizes that certain things are in harmony with life, and that there is a pattern of the universe to which all things must conform or painfully fail. Again, all religious literature and biography bear witness to a certain field of spiritual appreciation, and cosmic or mystic intuitions, a sense of the eternal and infinite aspect of things. Men "see God with their souls." They have experience of conscience, sin, lower and higher nature. All this provides a basis for what we have called the prophetic type of faith. The characteristic of the type is in its emphasis on ethical, reasonable and spiritual nature. "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy and walk humbly with thy God?" It is embodied in the Sermon on the Mount: it is, in general, the faith of the eighth-century prophets of Israel, of the Deuteronomist Puritans, of Jeremiah. It has been prominent in the Puritan, Quaker and Rationalistic movements. It may be called the Faith of Spiritual Nature. To

Spiritual Nature it makes its return time after time. It may be deeply mystic and lay stress on forms of devotion, prayer, communion, but it is sensitive to religious superstition. It either rejects rite or ceremony or gives these, strictly symbolical or suggestive value. The ideas of magical operation and fortification are alien to its spirit. Nor does it rest upon miracle and apocalypse, church tradition or Scripture, as external forms or authorities. It is a religion of the Spirit: the supernatural dwells in the natural, and the common experiences of life can be sacramental. Essential religion arises from experience and is confirmable by experience, and its intellectual forms change and develop. An unchanging faith does not necessarily imply infallibility and perfection. It may only signify stagnation and arrested development. The type is by no means confined to a scientific age: it is found wherever men have relied upon deep native instincts of spirituality and reasonableness.

But it is claimed that this type of religion by itself is insufficient to meet the religious need. There is need of revelation, apocalypse, sacrament, to inspire and feed the souls of men. A mere spiritual philosophy of life and conduct does not possess, so it is claimed, the stimulus, the driving power, the arrest of personality, which give potency to apocalyptic and sacramental types of religion. A popular distinction is drawn between a philosophy of faith and a gospel. "Natural religion" cannot transform the world. Such faith could never have given rise to the early Christian Church and maintained it. Something else was necessary. Does then Christianity owe its power and value to a series of "supernatural" operations, events that break through as it were from another order upon our slow normal evolutionary world-processes? Must their significance be imparted by celestial revelation going beyond the range of human discovery or confirmation? Can there be

no Christianity without this abnormally "revealed" element? This brings us to the second type of faith, which we may describe as Apocalyptic.

IV

B.—Apocalyptic Faith

We use the term Apocalyptic, not merely to denote the peculiar eschatology of primitive Christianity—the expectation of the Second Coming and its associated events—but the whole circle of thought of which this is but one expression—Enochian Messiahship, the sending of a supernatural Christ from the heavenly courts to teach the world and to accomplish a death with exalted ritual values. Old Testament prophecy, supernatural Birth, foreordained Death, Miracles, Resurrection, Ascension, Second Coming—all these belong to a special type of religious thought and interpretation. That there were historical events associated with some of these apocalyptic beliefs, one does not for a moment deny: one accepts as historical possibilities certain abnormal psychical happenings—foreknowledge, presentiments, faith-healings, some form of appearance of Christ after death: psychical research makes all these traditions quite credible. Our problem lies in the interpretation of these events. The "apocalyptic" interpretation does not necessarily follow. One is not justified, of course, in dogmatically denying another order of events and operations taking place "celestially" and touching the earth history at certain points as orthodox Christian belief has taught. For all we know, there may be many orders of cosmic process and history, and more than one type of knowledge and revelation acquainting us with cosmic truth. Modern Theosophy, for instance, claims that a form of special revelation gives certain kinds of knowledge lying beyond the reach of ordinary scientific and philosophical discovery. We may not deny the

abstract possibility that such knowledge may be true, but we are conscious of very grave epistemological problems which arise from these claims both in regard to modern Theosophy and ancient Apocalyptic. Again, we are conscious that in some particulars the apocalyptic interpretation has not shown itself very successful against literary criticism, or the sequel of historical events. The apocalyptic theory of Old Testament prophecy has failed to maintain itself against the former, and the doctrine of Second Adventism, as apocalyptically held, had no historic fulfilment within the expected period. This naturally shakes confidence in the infallibility of apocalyptic interpretation in general. The presence of apocalyptic myth found in lands adjacent to Palestine and having roots in ancient Persian, Babylonian and Egyptian drama-speculations, can hardly fail to open the enquiry whether we have here and not in some unique Sinai, the real source of apocalyptic interpretation and theosophic lore. At any rate, it seems safer to attempt to state essential faith on grounds somewhat firmer and more convincing, and seek to find in another region of thought the religious values which have been conveyed to the hearts and minds of men through the apocalyptic forms.

V

The differences between the prophetic and apocalyptic types are many and fundamental. The one is based on Nature, which is recognized as having a spiritual aspect: the other, on a revelation from another world. The one finds God within Nature: the other seeks Him in another realm, or, at any rate, there is a "foreign" aspect to the operations of God in this world: it is an action coming "from without": an alien energy is presupposed, and the universe is troubled with a mysterious dualism. Natural and supernatural are conceived as separate entities, rather

than the one as an aspect of the other. The one regards the processes of life as evolutionary; the other conceives that evolutionary processes can be interrupted, overridden, subordinated. Not only do the two types presuppose different philosophies of the universe: their ethical consequences are different. In some respects, apocalypse may seem to be more potent in stirring religious feeling and associated ethical impulses. Prophetism, with its ordered processes, its unsensationalism, its normality, is less impressive than the dramatic figures and actions of apocalyptic faith. It may be harder to move the world with its quieter and more spiritual appeals. It lends itself less to advertisement, to psychological arrest, and cannot appeal to the wonder-lust of the average mind. Religion of this type is not so likely to be successful as a factor in faith-healing, in mind-cure, in transformation by "suggestion," as apocalyptic faith. Enthusiasm, urgency, and above all the "force of novelty" seem necessary elements for "suggestive" efficacy (James, "Varieties of Religious Experience," p. 114). On the other hand, in apocalyptic religion, there is a tendency towards the weakening of the sense of choice, effort, responsibility. Evolution demands effort—strenuous, patient, sometimes agonized effort: apocalypse tends to be satisfied with pious contemplation of what God does. We mortals are spectators rather than actors. Belief becomes a substitute for personal action. Faith assumes a mechanistic complexion. There may be psychological justification for a temporary attitude of this kind when "suggestion" or "imagination" is allowed to operate rather than the conscious will, but for a general philosophy of life, the Determinism of Apocalypse cannot ultimately satisfy man's spiritual and ethical sense.

VI

In Christianity the two types have been found together, with their essential inconsistencies more or less ignored, but the new attention directed to apocalyptic by J. Weiss, Schweitzer and others, raises the issue of the distinction and contrast in acute form. With the realization and pressing of the contrast, there may be profound and wide-reaching effects upon Christian theology. Thought cannot permanently serve two masters. If faith, based on the spiritual nature of an ordered universe, be lord, we must serve it: if apocalypse be lord, we must serve it. Ultimately the one will exclude the other. They arise from different spheres: they have dwelt together in Christian theology, but they are not of the same kin. Their union has been syncretic and not organic. We shall later consider a use of apocalyptic form in a sense which seems justifiable, proceeding from prophetic religion, presenting prophetic religion in a special form, and therefore, reconcilable with it. Symbolic apocalyptic may possess high value in expressing aspects of cosmic truth, but at the moment we are speaking of apocalyptic in a more general and literal sense, as *theosophic supernaturalism*.

We frankly realize that the rejection of an "apocalyptic" interpretation of faith in this sense would involve us in an intellectual break with a tradition of Christian thought going back to the first century. We should be involved in a difficult and distressing task of cutting apart, even in the New Testament writings themselves, the two associated though inconsistent versions of faith. We should have to challenge the authority of classical creeds and confessions which have become intimately interwoven, sentimentally and legally, into the fabric of our Christian institutions. On the other hand, we should still find a wealth of spiritual affinities, on the ethical

and mystical sides of classical Christian writings. The Sermon on the Mount would retain its value. The faith, hope and love of St. Paul, as fundamental intuitions and attitudes of religion, would abide—and love, the greatest of the three. The spiritual mysticism of the Fourth Gospel, cleared of apocalyptic confusions, would still be ours. Curiously enough, much of the Athanasian Creed would keep its value for us. The Greek Fathers and the Church Mystics of all generations would continue to be our intellectual and spiritual comrades. And difficult and unwelcome as this process of the dissection of the classics of our faith may be, it is actually taking place as an inevitable result of the quickened instincts of spiritual faith in our modern reading of the Bible. Despite the large apocalyptic elements of the New Testament, despite the apocalyptic creeds and formularies of the Church, it seems as though the conceptions of Second Adventism and Millenarianism have fallen back from the living interests of modern Protestantism, and the figure of our Lord is becoming increasingly interpreted in the light of moral values, moral idealism, moral influence and the natural laws of the spiritual world. In the thought and affections of the Christian Church conscious Mysticism is becoming more familiar and emphasized, while "apocalypse" if not openly challenged and denied, is growing foreign to modern living Christian consciousness.

VII

Here and there the recoil from liberal faith and natural religion leads men to an apocalyptic alternative and to zeal for the ancient creeds and generally for an associated sacramentarianism. This may be due partly to the defects of a half-evolved liberalism rather than to the eternal values of apocalyptic. Indeed, liberalism must learn to find in itself some of the

practical positive values which apocalypse possesses, though it does not monopolize them—particularly the idea of Divine Transcendence, which is not incompatible with Divine Immanence: the ultimate Determinism of Law and Nature, complementary to the doctrine of limited freedom *within* law: and the definite sense of supernaturalism, regarded not as something divorced from the natural, but as the higher and spiritual aspect of the natural. Liberalism has also sometimes failed to compensate for the loss of apocalyptic wonder and commission, by not sufficiently stressing a mysticism consistent with her principles and genius, which can give the soul a true sense of the unseen and eternal, and a spiritual revelation and commission arising from the very sense of being in harmony with infinite and eternal Reality.

Again, a certain interest in an apocalyptic view of Faith can be accounted for by the world distress and by the despair of creating a fairer world by the ordinary methods of idealistic effort. The world is so evil, the world's improvement seems so hopeless, that men turn from the ideas of slow evolutionary advance to the enticing prospect of the ending of the distress by sudden Divine action, a sensational Parousia: such an attitude is commended indeed, as an act of pious faith in God. But there is little piety in this impatience and weariness with the slow steady methods of achieving God's event, which must be for us a "*far-off* Divine event." Second Adventism is a confession of spiritual debility, with a modern social parallel in Russian Bolshevik Revolution. The desire for short cuts to the desired end is little mark of stamina, character, faith or virtue. The history of Second Adventism throughout the ages has been a melancholy story of adventures in By-path Meadows. Faith at its noblest and wisest, will keep to the hard King's Highway of patient persistent struggle to make the world better.

VIII

The most difficult problem of apocalyptic religion, we conceive, is its epistemological one. What is the basis of authority for its beliefs? To the similar question presented to liberalism, the obvious reply is that the basis of authority lies for religion as it lies for science of all kinds—that is, in Nature, broadly conceived: in phenomena manifested in mind and soul, in physical nature, in moral experience, in the workings and laws of human life, in the workings out of historical processes and social tendencies and in universal cosmic intuitions. But for apocalyptic knowledge, we must fall back on apocalyptic revelations, which have no such compelling and eternal qualities; which are often unreliable and conflicting; which can in many cases be traced back to unscientific myths and crude primitive fancies. One may not dogmatically deny the possibility of supernatural impartation of the "mysteries" of apocalypse from another sphere, but how can we distinguish the reliable from the false: what are the criteria of test and correction: who shall determine what is genuine Divine revelation, and what is a subliminal uprush from a region of fancies, desires, wild imaginations—the fevered dream of a dervish, or the mystically coloured survival of some child-world cosmosophy in Babylon or Persia? It may be contended that the apocalyptic revelation, though not capable of direct test and justification, approves itself in the workings out of life and experience. The apocalyptic gnosis finds something in law and history which seems explained by it. But in as far as it is explainable by natural happenings, it ceases to be gnosis. It loses its true nature of apocalyptic—the non-inferable from natural observation. The difficulty of "proof" of apocalyptic gnosis may be realized by

asking if we should be convinced of the celestial truth of the Attis myth because we see that vegetation decays in the autumn and revives in the spring.

IX

But having challenged the view that apocalypse and evolutionary history can make any kind of historical amalgam or be set on the same historical plane, we may realize that apocalypse may have a value as a symbol of evolutionary world-processes taken as a whole, or as dramatic expression of certain fundamental intuitions, characterized by their universal spontaneity and their persistence amid changing associations. Man not only perceives finite evolutionary events: he has moods of cosmic consciousness or mysticism with its sensing of life as an infinite or a totality; he appears to have a faculty of "seeing with the soul" (see pp. 140 *ff.*); and these intuitions find expressions in apocalyptic. Apocalyptic form may be regarded as a clothing in various ways, of man's sense of the Infinite, his relation to the Absolute, his conviction of a better day in virtue of an ultimate purpose and soundness of the universe. *Monism and Optimism are the universal features of the mystic consciousness* (W. James, "Varieties of Religious Experience," p. 116), *and to these master-intuitions most of the apocalyptic forms may ultimately be traced.* The basis of such apocalyptic is to be sought, not in sibylline revelation, but in the self-revelation of developed human personality. The values of the Infinite find broken and parabolic expression in more or less inadequate finite forms and events. Universal intuitions create apocalyptic symbols and dramas, though seldom recognized as such; and part of the appeal of these forms to succeeding generations is to be explained by their answering to the abiding cosmic intuitions of men's hearts.

We may say, then, that apocalypse is a way of expressing the values of a cosmic truth, a complete process, an infinite and eternal fact in terms necessarily suggestive and allegorical rather than precise and scientific. Apocalypse conveys the significance of the whole process, whereas the evolutionary view of life regards the same cosmic fact drawn out in detail. Evolution marks stages, succession, a time-order, growth, development; apocalypse expresses that cosmic mysticism which senses the process as a whole, with details, stages, growth, the time-element, as it were, transcended. Its truth is complementary to that revealed in slow evolutionary process. It comes from a different way of regarding the universe; a looking upon the whole rather than the sections. Both views are necessary for the fulness of knowledge, but they must be treated, each in its own setting. Their terms are not interchangeable. The error of apocalypse has been to set its allegorical "summaries" of the universe-process as detailed events within the process. It is as if we set the One in which the Many are summed up, as One among the Many. We may speak of an apocalyptic fact, or facts, but hardly of apocalyptic *events*. The apocalyptic sense may seize upon evolutionary events as symbols or suggestions of its truth, but for true thinking we must distinguish between the actual evolutionary, and the apocalyptic, allegorical or symbolic nature of these events. The Incarnation is an apocalyptic truth attached to a historical life within an evolutionary process: "Jesus was in time what God was in eternity": the Atonement is an apocalyptic truth attached to a conspicuous historical act of world-uplift belonging to the evolutionary process. The Resurrection is an apocalyptic truth of the eternal supremacy of right after seeming defeat attached to some historical event, the precise nature of which it is now difficult for us to judge. *The double significance—the apocalyptic and the evolutionary—which*

have thus come together in the life of Jesus, accounts for most of the Christological problems. These ought to be approached by the question—what belongs to the evolutionary view, what to the apocalyptic? Jesus is an evolutionary figure, marking a stage or a "flowering" of evolution, and for our evolutionary thinking only intelligible as such. But a world of apocalyptic values has come to gather round Him, bearing their own truth, and satisfying certain religious needs. The ideas of a historical Jesus and a cosmic Christ come together, like the centres of two circles of different diameter meeting at the same point. Each aspect has its own value: each aspect bears a truth: each aspect, indeed, has an ultimate identification, for in the last resort we are dealing with aspects of one reality and not with two universes. *Jesus is not only an evolutionary historical figure: He is involved in the cosmic fact which apocalypse seeks to express.* Apocalypse sums up, de-temporalizes that process, in which Jesus takes a conspicuous, a supreme part. The latter fact is the reason why the world has seized upon Him to symbolize and express the apocalyptic truths of Incarnation, Atonement, Salvation.

X

The tendencies of apocalyptizing have not only seized upon the historical events of the life of Jesus, but upon associated conceptions of Messiahship. Ancient myth conceived battles between higher and lower gods, pictured celestial campaigns, breakings forth of armies from the skies, dramatic cataclysms, signs in heaven and earth. In time, spiritual and moral meanings became attached to these struggles of the gods: by historical accident the ideas of Jewish Messiahship were coloured by these ancient speculations and expectations: apocalyptic Messiahs marching forth from the clouds, bringing to naught their

adversaries, establishing their everlasting Kingdoms of light and righteousness, became proclaimed (Similitudes of Enoch, 95–80 B.C.: *cf.* Dan. vii. 13): presently, in the Christian Church, Second Adventism appears to express the conviction of an ultimate victory of Christ, and all He stands for. We acknowledge that this was not *conscious* allegorizing: the expectation was concrete: the undatable was set within the generation of living men: the failure to discriminate between historical and apocalyptic came to discredit the latter: a dated Second Advent, a definite physical appearance of the Lord Jesus in the skies seemed illusive: indeed, the literal expectation seems to have produced in some circles actually demoralizing effects. But there is truth and value in Apocalypse when its nature is rightly regarded. A feature of ineffability in precise and scientific terms is characteristic of Mysticism or cosmic consciousness. We cannot speak of the Infinite as finite. But Apocalypse has suggested the significance of the Infinite in its allegorical, symbolic, parabolic terms (and what matter whence the allegorical, symbolic and parabolic *forms* come?) and has brought home the truth of the significance of the cosmos as a whole.*

It will be seen that we do not regard apocalyptic as merely the catastrophic in history—the few great

* Kirsopp Lake remarks ("Earlier Epistles of St. Paul," p. 422), "An eschatological expectation is much more than a prognostication of the course of history: it is the last chapter in a complete view of the universe—a catastrophic *Weltanschauung*, which stands directly opposed to the evolutionary system which we usually employ. . . . It would be unfair to say that an evolutionary *Weltanschauung* cannot do justice to the catastrophic element in history in the hands of its masters; it can be made to express this as well as the elements of steady and consistent growth. But it expresses them with more difficulty and in the case of smaller men frequently does not express them at all. The catastrophic *Weltanschauung* on the contrary expresses admirably the catastrophic element in history, but at the expense of other sides . . . the slow constant progress we cannot see at all. On the whole it is good that we have moved to the evolutionary *Weltanschauung*."

periods when evolutionary history exhibits a revolution; manifests a new birth. The changing of an epoch still remains evolutionary, just as the sudden breaking forth of a flower is still a part of ordered growth. It is not mere suddenness which constitutes apocalyptic. Its essence, in the sense we have used the term, lies in the symbolizing of cosmic or infinite values: it is the "speech" of Mysticism (in its true sense of cosmic consciousness). Its great messages are (*a*) *Incarnation*, that is, in some sense human and divine represent a cosmic unity: (*b*) *Atonement*, that is, that the whole creation is moving through Love towards a far-off Divine event: (*c*) *the Eternal Goodness, Harmony, and Strength*, that is, that at the centre of things all is well. All things have been created in Christ, in Him all things consist: at the end, God shall be all in all. This faith and optimism has apocalyptic expression in Second Adventism. Love shall conquer in the end.

XI

It may be urged that the rise of the early Church could not be accounted for without, for instance, a belief in the Messiahship of Jesus, a physical Resurrection, miracles, the expectation of a Parousia. It is conceivable that a religious movement could arise without these particular stimuli, that Christianity can rest upon purely spiritual elements, but are we justified in arguing that because certain events or beliefs are not essential, as far as we can know our souls, to our own spiritual life, they can be dismissed as unimportant for the rise and maintenance of historical Christianity? It may therefore be urged that there was a Divine "accommodation" of an apocalyptic kind to the mind of the age, without which Christianity could never have been born, nor the lives and energy of the earliest saints, prophets, apostles, be explained.

But it seems to us that the differences between the

mind of the first century and that of the twentieth in their fundamental religious nature, are not so serious as may appear at first sight. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, *neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead!*"—that was a first-century utterance. Human nature changes little in its fundamental intuitions. The changes are in the forms in which these find expression. The marvel doctrines held by the early Christian Church, we suggest, prove, if analyzed, to be *expressions* of intuitive faith rather than *sources* of vital belief. The true account of the process of their formation we conceive to be, that certain ethical and spiritual stimuli quickened the souls of men and awakened the profound intuitions of fundamental and universal faith. The work of our Lord, as Matthew Arnold suggested, was "to open out the choked-up wells of intuition." *The souls of men thus stimulated sought expression for the awakened instincts of faith, hope and love, and seized upon traditions, beliefs, events: transformed them: read into them new meanings: superimposed the eternal faith realized in their souls, upon incidents, circumstances, current ideas which originally had, so to speak, a spiritually neutral quality, or at any rate, another kind of spiritual quality.* That there was some historical basis of fact for belief in miracles, we do not deny: that something of an abnormal kind came into the experiences of the early Christian community just after the death of Jesus is unquestionable. But the New Testament *significance* of Messiahship with signs and wonders, of the Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost, we believe *was read back* from spiritual experiences which had their real source in the eternal elements of religious personality. The process we see in the Fourth Gospel of setting truths derived from spiritual experience upon historical or semi-historical traditions, we believe operated to some extent even with Paul and the Synoptics. It was a matter of misinterpreted self-consciousness when

men came to attribute the rise of their vital faith to the doctrines and events which they had more or less unwittingly made expressions of their vital faith. We may compare the way in which the faith of men produces Scriptures: then a later generation comes to believe that these Scriptures have originated the faith of the world. So we believe that men's quickened faith put new meanings on events, in themselves comparatively unimportant or spiritually neutral: on physical abnormalities without inherent religious significance: on miracles, Messianic beliefs, current Parousia expectations and the like: and then came to believe that these events and beliefs were the source of their faith, and the essential conditions for Christian faith, hope and love for all time.* We believe that *the*

* The doctrine of the Resurrection is an illustration of special importance. We believe that there was after the death of Jesus some extraordinary event—what exactly it was we hardly know, for our records give conflicting accounts. One is tempted to believe that at the foundation of these stories there was some experience akin to those to which Psychical Research in our day has turned its attention. There are stories that some saw a living Savonarola after his death (Wrede, " Paul," p. 8). The usual criticism of the vision theory is that the disciples were not *expecting* to see the Lord. But Psychical Research does not suggest that expectancy is a usual condition or feature of such appearances. Nor must the vision theory exclude some objective stimulus from a still living centre of personality surviving beyond the grave. This we take as the Resurrection *fact*, to be distinguished from the *theories* ancient and modern which have gathered round it. To the primitive Christian Church, the Resurrection was a miracle of Messiahship. To Paul, it was part of an " apocalyptic " scheme of salvation, with parallels in the cults of the vegetation gods that died and rose again. In more modern times, it has been the outstanding proof of survival after death, despite the fact that the documentary evidence would hardly have satisfied the legitimately critical attitude of the Psychical Research Society investigators, and the theological insistence upon the absolute uniqueness of Christ obviously weakens the value of this instance to prove, in the case of man in general, the survival of human personality beyond death.

But to us, the " Resurrection " has become a symbol of a set of truths, a " Resurrection Gospel," which strictly does not rest upon a historical event, but arises from deep intuitions of the human soul and a prophetic insight into the significance of social, moral and spiritual

real strength and energy of the early Christians proceeded from the purely spiritual and moral "prophetic" elements in the life of their Master, and not as results, sequels, inferences, corollaries from apocalyptic beliefs and events. These were expressions of that faith which had its quickening elsewhere. These interpretations did not account for their religious nature and life. Their religious nature and life accounted for these interpretations.

XII

We believe, then, that Apocalyptic expresses in its own distinctive fashion, certain truths of cosmic quality that arise from a few fundamental intuitions, which strictly transcend detail and date. But we believe that it is not impossible to find other statements of the truths suggested by apocalyptic, in terms philosophically satisfactory and spiritually and morally wholesome. The modern mind may have difficulties in accepting the apocalyptic theory of a Christ, coming from the skies, entering the world miraculously, passing through it with accompaniments of marvel, accomplishing a supernatural transaction by His

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law. The sense of a living Christ who could not be holden by death; a conviction that righteousness triumphs after seeming defeat; a consciousness of the "conservation of values"—that that which is worthy to persist never perishes; a belief in general immortality arising from our sense of the value of personality and from our intuition of the reasonableness and purpose of the universe; these truths gathered round the abnormal event, which seems to stand on its own historical merits. But the truths had also their own independent foundations, and may be held even by those who find it difficult to conceive a basis of historic fact under the Resurrection narratives. On the other hand, it is not necessary to suppose that the Resurrection stories were myths and parables *created* by such convictions as these mentioned. We conceive a theory which lies between the "essentiality" of a physical marvel, and that of a spiritual myth without any real historical basis. Real events were, we conceive, seized upon to symbolize essential spiritual truths which had their true origin elsewhere.

death and Resurrection, and functioning as a go-between and mediator for man and God. Our ways of thinking, our discoveries in Biblical criticism, our greater knowledge of comparative religion are all unfavourable to this apocalyptic interpretation. But the apocalyptic doctrines conveyed certain truths and values essential for religion, and it is necessary to find their equivalents in the non-apocalyptic terms in which our generation is being compelled to think. Incarnation and Mediation—ideas which a true instinct of the Church has historically emphasized—admit of "prophetic" statement and interpretation, which apart from our immediate argument, *it is well for us to realize in preparation for our general study.* For, it must be confessed, the tendencies of our speculation are unfavourable to apocalyptic Christianity in the old sense. Christian theology appears, not as delivered direct and infallible from the heavens, but as influenced and moulded by the forms of contemporary thought, much of it from pagan and unscientific sources. These forms have clothed truth for the minds of men, but we must needs seek "prophetic" justification and expression of the underlying truth. We believe that the Incarnation is an essential and central feature of Christian belief: equally we believe that Incarnation does not rest upon the many apocalyptic features of the gospel, which have not well stood the test of modern critical methods and investigation. We must ask in what sense is Jesus an expression of God, what kind of powers, what nature of life, what sort of personality, what conditions of manifestation, would be required in Jesus in order that He should have for us that value of divinity upon which the instincts of faith have rightly, we believe, laid such stress?

XIII

One can only briefly indicate the lines on which such an enquiry would proceed. We conceive that all forms of human experience are to be gathered up and reconciled in some one uniting, all-embracing fact and principle, to which and whom we give the name —God. "In Him we live and move and have our being." He is the One in whom are the Many, the Infinite consisting of all the finites, and further possessing a quality of *more and beyond* in the very massing of them all together. He is the End, explaining and justifying the means. He is the Eternal, ceaselessly living out His life and meaning in time processes.* He is the Whole, in some degree manifesting Himself in all parts. We cannot cut away any element in human life and find it foreign to the being and meaning of the whole. In some sense, all life must be a manifestation of the life of the whole.

We believe in the *personality* of the whole, for we experience it in the parts, and it would be a strange kind of All which included everything save that which we find of most significance and value in the finite parts.

This personality of God must be in its own infinite form, which is as much beyond our complete comprehension as infinite mass, but just as a simple flower

* For our practical faith we may feel a need to postulate a God prior to, and independent of and above all, finite existences, a self-conscious spirit; One with moral and metaphysical perfection, cut off from the evil and limitation of finite beings. But the difficulty of reconciling this practical need with the scheme suggested, is one arising from the fundamental antinomy of Being and Becoming, the One and the Many, Eternity and Time. For the Eternal One is an aspect of existence transcending the Time-order, and therefore a God "prior to" the rest of existence does not belong to its order of thinking. When we think in terms of *Becoming*, we must recognize time-sequence and hint at a truth by postulating a God prior to the rest of the universe. The other problems arise from the same fundamental antinomy which human thought cannot escape.

or stone is an aspect of infinite form and mass, so human personality is an aspect of infinite personality. God is not impersonal, or super-personal, but "infinitely-personal"—that is to say—His personality gathers up the significance of all our finite personalities. *Personality, as far as it has meaning for us, is something which manifests itself in finite conditions of relationship, need, response, freewill, growth, struggle. We could not find Goodness, or Love or Pity, in an amorphous One.* These qualities of highest personality (of which morality is the most significant feature) could have no expression or meaning apart from a field of finite conditions, such as we find in our earth experience. *But the meaning of the part must also be found in the whole. Human personality is an aspect of Divine Personality*, and the Personality of God, we conceive, is not the personality of a further member of a finite series, but the unified aspect and culminating significance of all that interplay of human relations in finite "struggle-conditions," which is involved in our ideas of personality and morality. God's personality is not something apart from human personality—it is the "infinite" aspect of all human personalities. We speak of the tree as well as of the leaves and branches, but if we took away leaves and branches, there would not remain a tree. Similarly, we conceive of the being of God and the personality of God as other than the being and personality of this, that, and the other finite individual, but if we could take away the being and personality of this, that, and the other finite individual, the being and personality of the Infinite would disappear.

The conception we seek to express is quite other than that of an abstract universal idea. God is not the abstract idea derived from the ideas of a multitude of human beings and personalities, just as the abstract idea "House" is derived from the ideas of a number of concrete definite houses. We are thinking of a cosmic organism, as it were, which at the same time

is One and Many. The part is an aspect of the whole, and it would be as true to add that the whole is an aspect of the part. The whole does not ontologically exist, apart from that which makes it up, and it follows that there is significance for the whole in the existence and interplay of the parts, and that in some degree, the meaning and nature of the whole must be read through the manifestation of the finite parts. Thus the Goodness, Love, Pity, of God can only be realized, on a sacramental principle, where Goodness, Love, Pity, and the like are shown under human conditions, between man and man. Where Love is, there God is. Those who see Grace and Truth, see the Father. He is not the personification of Grace and Truth; or the abstract universal idea of Grace and Truth; but the Infinite Reality with the attributes of Grace and Truth in some transcendent form proper to Infinite Being. Therefore in our Lord, full of grace and truth, born of a woman, truly human, hedged round with finite limitations but with a spirit *in its moral greatness* overcoming them and manifesting a glory of conquest and character in the process, *we see God Himself*. The doctrine of the Incarnation conveys a supreme truth.

This line of thought would involve us in the perplexities, errors and dangers of Pantheism, if we did not combine it with a doctrine of *values*. All finite things do not express God equally. Crude pantheism, as found in some forms of religious thought, has no grades, so that anything can serve as a God. The true conception of Divine Immanence rests upon the grading of the universe so that only the highest in the universe can become an approximation to the Infinite. Jesus is not divine merely because He is in the universe. *He is divine and has the judgment value of God for us, because He is the highest expression of moral and spiritual personality among the children of men.*

XIV

Holding this conception of the relations of God and man, Divinity and humanity, Infinity and the finites, what are the essential features we should require in the life of our Lord, in order that He should have the judgment value of God for us? One value He would not have consistently with our view of the universe. He would not have the features of the Infinite. Christ would no longer serve as a manifestation of a personality at once human and divine in the sense we have indicated, if He should be released from conditions of finitude. The God in whom we live and move and have our being most clearly *reveals His personality and character where personality and character have come to their fullest expression in the universe.* Therefore in as far as finite life can express Infinite and Eternal Spirit, Jesus is very God. He is neither a second God, nor is there a God ontologically apart from His own deepest being. He is actually God Himself in human expression.

But since this significance is that of God in finite human terms, it follows that our Lord must be really and perfectly human. Thus we cannot claim or expect omnipotence, an attribute of the Absolute alone, as a feature of His life. He may have possessed powers, lying latent in ordinary human life, but they would belong definitely to human life. We must claim a certain general normality in our Lord, if we would find in His personality and character not only that which might inspire His brethren with the influence of exemplarship, but even the expression of the personality of God Himself, as we have conceived it. If Goodness, Mercy, Pity, Courage, in short, Virtue of any kind, can only be expressed in conditions of finite limitation, a theological deliverance of Jesus from these conditions by a doctrine of omnipotence, would destroy all His significance, both *human and*

divine! Therefore if a critical study of the gospel records should reduce or abolish the element of abnormal nature and powers in our Lord, we claim that the real significance of Jesus as a revealer of the personality and character of God, would be enhanced rather than destroyed. If miracle and abnormality be retained, after sober and careful criticism, we would conclude that these were accidental rather than vital features, and that we must regard them not as signs of Divinity, but as indications of latent powers in humanity. The indication of the Divine in Jesus, His judgment value of God, must be sought *in supreme moral excellence manifest in those circumstances of human limitation through which alone character and virtue can become expressed.*

XV

A second, though not disassociated value sought in our Lord, is that of *Mediatorship*. We must enquire how this conception came into prominence. It does not seem to have been characteristic of the high type of prophecy found in the eighth century B.C. in Israel. The relations between human souls and the Father of souls, were regarded as simple and direct. Even the notion of propitiation was absent. How should man atone for his sins save by a broken and contrite heart? What did the Lord require of man but to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with Him?

But other influences were at work in the thought of surrounding civilizations. In Persia, the hierarchy of gods provided mediators between Ahura Mazda, the unapproachable in greatness, and the human race, and in the later pre-Christian period, Judaism was made familiar through Persian intercourse, with the Son of Man, with Metatron, the angel of God's face, Michael, etc. In the Hellenistic world, Plato had with more or less inconsistency suggested a dualism of worlds, the world of Matter and the world of Ideas, with a

mediating World-Soul to bridge the gulf. The world of "ideas" came to "thicken into gods," and the popular distinction between the two worlds became that of two orders, divine and human, with a mediating Logos, having its Jewish counterparts of Wisdom or Memra.*

But the whole conception of such mediation seems philosophically unsound. It seems an attempt to ease the sheer drop of difference by disguised stages. If there be no direct relation between A and B, how can C bring them together? Those which have relations with the mediating term, must have relations with one another from the beginning.

The only kind of uniting mediation conceivable is that which stimulates some common element already existing in the two apparently diverse terms. A third party can establish friendship or reconciliation after estrangement, between two others, but that is only because there was in each a direct potential relation which the mediator was able to quicken into effectiveness. Our Lord was mediator in the sense of stimulating the moral and spiritual life of human souls so that men realized their direct relation with the Father. He led them to repentance, to a change in their souls, which allowed them to become at one with God. But the other types of mediatorship seem to arise from unjustifiable conceptions of God as a magnified Potentate needing propitiation; or of a God whose greatness removes Him from men rather than fills every part of the universe and their own souls with His presence; or of an idea of two worlds or orders ontologically divided, so that some one or something, in some hardly to be conceived manner, can bridge the chasm between them. These types of mediatorship have a background of unphilosophic philosophy: the devices of magic religions to turn away the anger of the gods:

* Metatron and Memra: see Appendix, Ed. Meyer, "Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums," vol. iii., p. 649.

the analogies of social customs hardly applicable to the spiritual relations of God and man. The term mediator may justly be applied to our Lord as indicating this function of revealing in highest moral and spiritual terms the nature of God, and as reconciling men to God, and leading them by His message, influence and example to a moral and spiritual harmony with God, a possibility inherent in human personality. This we conceive to be the "prophetic" interpretation of Salvation and Atonement and the Redemption of the world. The whole process operates along the lines of mental, moral and spiritual law. It is at once natural and supernatural, for we regard the supernatural as the natural under its highest aspect and as possessing spiritual significance.

XVI

Summing up, apocalyptic as a rival to "natural" faith and knowledge, cannot be justified. But we are able to regard apocalyptic in another and justifiable way, as a symbolizing of eternal values: as a dramatic representation of those larger aspects of truth, which, while involving events, are more than events: they are the constitutional features and principles of the universe, which, while they cannot be separated from historical happenings, transcend them and become cosmic facts. Apocalyptic is not an alternative phase of world-process, but a special way of regarding history; that is, we have not a period of evolution followed by a period of apocalypse, but the whole process of evolution may be regarded under another aspect, more dramatic, impressive, symbolized, parabolized; with the quality and value of truth characteristic of, and appropriate to that aspect; conveying a significance which might be overlooked in a narrow contemplation of sectional evolutionary process. If we can thus regard apocalyptic, we can restore its place in Christian theology. We can realize its spiritual significance in the New

Testament. We can read the creeds in a new light, not only escaping intellectual vexations felt when some of their clauses were read as indicating historical events, but finding expressions in these very clauses, of cosmic faith and hope, essential for the fulness of Christian belief.

XVII

C.—Sacramental Faith

The third religious type to be considered is the Sacramental. By means of certain rites ordained by God man receives essential grace to be acquired in no other way. Religion gathers round the sacraments. By baptism with water and in the potent name of Christ, the spirit of God is imparted, and newness of life follows. Communion with Christ is to be maintained by the Eucharist. The believer partakes in the Sacrament "not the body and blood of Christ, but the flesh and blood of the Son of Man, through the spirit expressing itself through the material forms." The Spirit is not a name to denote a mere transformation or recentering of the believer's former personality: it is something which comes from without: a man could be possessed by the Spirit even as he might be obsessed by an evil spirit. Spirit has a physical quality, and has to be imparted in a physical way.

Such sacramentalism not only runs through the history of the Church from apostolic times, but it is claimed that such statements as have been given above are true of New Testament teaching, not only in the Fourth Gospel, but even in Paul and in the primitive community into which Paul was converted.

Paul's attitude towards externalities in religion so emphatically expressed in Galatians and Colossians would have led us to believe that he would have had no sympathy with this sacramentarian circle of thought. But there is a tendency in modern scholarship to

attribute to Paul a serious belief in sacramentalism as just described. Wrede, Wernle, Weinel, Heitmüller, Kirsopp Lake—all find this element in Paul, although some recognize its discrepancy with the central and characteristic ethical and spiritual teaching of Paul. It is claimed that here the influence of the Mysteries upon Paulinism is most impressively seen. In the Mysteries the doctrine was held that the sacramental acts work *ex opere operato*, and this, it is claimed, was also Paul's theory of sacramental process and value. Lake believes that at the beginning of the first century many of the heathen Mysteries had passed from the magic to the sacramental stage. Schweitzer will not hear of Mystery influence upon St Paul, although he acknowledges that it affected Christianity later, and that Johannine Christianity "is the most highly developed Greek Mystery religion which it is possible to conceive" ("Paul and His Interpreters," p. 202). But even with Schweitzer the Sacraments have a physical significance: they impart something of the new life which is to be fully realized by the believer at the Parousia: they reflect the late Jewish metaphysical teachings concerning the Spirit. Schweitzer apparently approves Kabisch's view that according to Paul "a super-earthly substance enters into the corporeality of those who in virtue of the *unio mystica* with Christ, have entered into the experiences of His death and resurrection. It produces in them a new being and gives them a claim to a future perfected glory, and this while their fleshly existence still continues to the outward eye unaltered" (p. 58). With Schweitzer, the Pauline sacramental process has even less ethical significance than in the Mysteries, for the element of volition present in the latter is denied in the former. The prime fact is the cosmic process, the act of God: by faith and baptism the believer enters into the benefits of the process, but "the efficient cause of the renewal is *not in the act*

of the individual, and not in the inherent efficacy of the sacrament itself" (p. 224)—the efficacy is in the *world-process*; and sacrament, the imparting of the Spirit, renewal of life, all flow as consequences from this without volition of the subject entering in: whereas in the pagan Mysteries and in Johannine sacramentalism human volition plays a part.

XVIII

Professor Kirsopp Lake suggests that Baptism was probably a primitive Christian rite, practised by the immediate hearers of Jesus in Palestine, and regarded as part of an eschatological preparation for the coming of the Kingdom. "Even if it were not a mystery or sacrament to them in quite the Greek sense, it was sufficiently nearly so to render inevitable and natural its adoption as a Mystery in the earliest Gentile circles and among more Greek minded Jews in the Diaspora" (p. 391). Thus among the Corinthian Christians, Lake claims, "the main feature was that they all accepted Christianity as a Mystery Religion which really could do what the other Mystery Religions pretended to do. Jesus was to the Corinthians the Redeemer-God who had passed through death to life and offered participation in this new life to those who shared in the Mysteries He offered. These Mysteries were Baptism and the Eucharist and there was unanimity in Corinth as to their central importance" (p. 233). He cites 1 Cor. x. as support for this theory, a passage which however does not seem to compel us to take Lake's interpretation (see later, p. 175). He further seeks to explain the scantiness of reference in Paul to these doctrines claimed as central in the Church, by saying that they were so completely accepted as to need no further emphasis. "It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of realizing that if we want to discover the central points of early Christian doctrine, we must look, not at those to which

Paul devotes pages of argument, but at those which he treats as the premises accepted equally by all Christians" (p. 233, footnote). Again, in dealing with the Epistle to the Romans (p. 385) he asserts—"Baptism is for Paul and his readers universally and unquestionably accepted as a 'mystery' or sacrament which works *ex opere operato*, and from the unhesitating manner in which Paul uses this fact as a basis of argument, as if it were a point on which Christian opinion did not vary, it would seem as though this sacramental teaching is central in the primitive Christianity to which the Roman Empire began to be converted. Three factors were regarded as essential—Water, Name and Spirit."

Anticipating a later consideration of the question, we may simply say at this point that evidence for Paul's acceptance of the sacramental theory in the sense indicated, seems too slight to outweigh his attitude towards externalities in religion as manifest in Galatians and Colossians, although there may have been moods when this attitude wavered. We cannot believe that sacramentalism was in any way central with him. On this point 1 Cor. i. 17 seems conclusive —"Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." We believe that he found the practices of the Mysteries suggestive as a practical method of mysticism, and that he indeed reinterpreted the old practices of Baptism and the Church Meal in the light of this experience, and opened the way to further developments in the sacramental direction. But with Paul, the sacraments are mystical rather than magical, symbolical rather than miracle working, and secondary to the spiritual and ethical elements of faith.

XIX

In regard to the general value of sacramentalism one may make one or two observations. We must *distinguish sacramentalism which means the principle of*

the Spirit revealing itself through Matter, and the sacramentalism which is a ritual act to produce a magical or semi-magical result. The latter, which has its ancestry in "sympathetic magic" in primitive religion, is distinct from, and cannot be justified by the great and valuable sacramental principle which runs throughout all life. God reveals Himself in material forms and in physical operations. The spirit of a man reveals itself in the action of hands and feet, in the physical consequences of love, pity, helpfulness: a smile, a tear, a handshake can have sacramental values. There are common sacraments of the home. Sir Launfal's offer of a drink of cold water and a crust to his fellow in destitution was a true Eucharist. The glorification of God through the body can be sacramental. The beholdings of God in the beauty of the world, in the wonders of nature, in the miracles of life and thought, are all forms of the sacramental principle running through life. But the magical view of sacraments which finds special efficacy in the use of water or the pronouncement of a name, or attaches the significance of Transubstantiation to the Lord's Supper, obviously involves another element of a highly questionable kind, and does not fall under the head of true sacramentalism. We may make the sacraments symbolic of this principle of sacramentalism in life: physical action and material substance may bring to our minds spiritual ideas and sentiments through certain associations, but ecclesiastical sacramentalism involves more than this. There is, in the latter, a close relation with magic,* and historically the sacramental forms seem to have been derived from magic practices and theories.

It is unquestionable that the sacramental experience

* The difference between sacrament and magic, according to Kirsopp Lake, is "that a sacrament implies that the worshipper obtains certain benefits by fulfilling a covenant made with him by God, while magic implies that he obtains them because he knows how to compel the deity to grant them" ("Early Epistles of St. Paul," p. 429).

has been found throughout the ages a means of grace and spiritual stimulus. But Lake's observation (p. 495) is worthy of consideration—" Certain persons habitually receive the sacraments of the Church and habitually are conscious that they derive benefit after so doing. On this is based the theory that they derive this benefit because they receive the sacraments. It is held that this is *propter hoc* as well as *post hoc*. This theory, of course, is open to argument. . . . Up to now, no final answer has been given to three anti-Catholic statements. (1) There exists in contemporary Protestantism a body of Christians who can produce the same experimental evidence of 'grace' as can the Catholic Church and who do not attribute it to sacraments, which some of them reject entirely. It is, for instance, hard to deny the evidences of spiritual life among the Quakers in England, and yet they have neither Baptism nor the Eucharist. (2) The student of religions is inclined to dispute the exclusive claim of Christian sacraments on the ground that the same claims can be substantiated by other Mystery Religions. (3) The students of psychology suggest to us that there is a rival explanation in the facts of 'suggestion' and in the working of the 'subliminal consciousness' which seems to be in a marked degree the seat of religious life."

XX

We believe that the explanation and justification of sacramentalism must be sought in the "prophetic" element of Religious Mysticism. The characteristic feature of the contemporary Mysteries, from which the Christian practice seems to have been derived, was the mystic experience of the Communion of the worshipper with God. Certain physical processes, operating by "suggestion" and worship-hypnosis, powerfully helped to induce this consciousness of mysticism, with its features of relation with Deity,

optimism, fellowship, new life, immortality. The Quakers have emphasized Mysticism, although they have used other methods to induce it, and probably this accounts for the similar spiritual phenomena manifested by these non-sacramentarian mystics and the sacramentarian mystics. Sacramentalism is not the only means and not the highest means to this mystic end. But it is in mysticism that, we believe, sacramentalism has its significance, and we shall seek to show that the introduction into Christian sacraments of this mystic significance was historically due to St. Paul, in whom the mystic strain was pronounced. Definite psychological experience may have led Paul to find religious value in rites which probably owed their external form originally to ancient magic religion. He may even have fugitively accepted some of the superstitions lingering in these rites from their magic ancestry. His greatness and genius do not necessarily exclude dark workings in the hinterland of his mental life. But the outstanding fact is that Paul's interests are fundamentally ethical, spiritual and healthy. His Jewish upbringing, his own religious genius, his inheritance from Jesus of Nazareth—all these determine the centrality of that element. To physical and metaphysical, Paul is not indifferent, but these with him gather round a central spiritual and ethical interest, explanatory of some feature of the latter, or proceeding from it, or serving as its expression. Physical and metaphysical are left vague or variable. They are like the secondary figures of a canvas which the artist leaves unworked out or experimentally treated for a time while the central and essential piece occupies his prime attention and concern. In clearest of language, he himself suggests to all who would interpret him, or interpret religion itself, the master principle of his work and thought. The physical is subordinated to the ethical. Apocalyptic is secondary to the spiritual. The physical

charisma of the spirit, the understanding of mysteries and knowledge, the faith to remove mountains are nothing without Love. Systems vary: they are experimental and temporary—but Love never fails. The centrality of Paul is to be sought and found in that which does not pass away. All the rest must be explained by that. "Now abideth Faith, Hope and Love—and the greatest of these is Love." These are the features of the *Prophetic* type of Religion—Apocalypse and Sacrament have value only in as far as they serve or express these, and when set or interpreted apart from Prophetic Faith, they become untrue, misleading and mischievous.

CHAPTER II

PAUL: THE INTELLECTUAL DEBTOR TO JEW AND GREEK

The influence of Jesus on Paul—Criticism of Wrede's views—The question of Hellenistic influences—The undoubted Greek influence on the early Christian Church—Had Paul some part in this development?—Schweitzer's claim that Hellenistic influence on Paul was practically negligible—But Paul from his boyhood was exposed to such influences—Parallels with Stoic thought in Paulinism—Paul's Logos Christ—Complete identity of view is not necessary to prove influence—The influence of late Judaism on Paul important and primary—Influence of Tarsus—Mystery cults—Stoic philosophy—Hellenism even at Jerusalem—The figure of Wisdom in Jewish-Hellenistic literature—"Prophetic" basis of Stoicism—The Greek "Return to Nature"—The Jewish Torah—Judaism failed because it was not a sufficiently great and noble "Natural Religion"—Religion must be mystical as well as ethical—Rabbinism—The Primitive Christian Community—Relations of Paul with Stephen and the Primitive Church—Did the Hellenistic section of the early Church hold Mystery doctrines before Saul's conversion?—The Kyrios title and the Christ worship—The broad use of Kyrios—Tendencies towards the deification of Christ, independent of Mystery influences—Invocations to Christ—The standing New Testament practice is not prayer to Christ—Claimed distinction between Judaistic and Hellenistic "Forms of Doctrine" in the pre-Pauline Church (Bousset, Loisy)—Suggestion that Paul derived his faith from the latter and was suspected by the Jerusalem leaders for his already developed Hellenism—Paul regarded as a convert to Hellenistic Christianity—Is the fact that Paul was reproached by the Jerusalem disciples for nothing but his attitude towards the Law, due to the fact that the primitive community had come to share the Hellenistic "form of doctrine" at the time of the Jerusalem Council (Morgan), or that Paul never was Hellenized (Schweitzer), or that Paul did not adopt pronounced Hellenistic views till a later date?—The last theory seems to us the most probable—Preparation for a "Kyrios theology" from natural developments within Jewish thought.

I

Paul and Jesus

Paul is so emphatic in his claim to be an apostle of Jesus Christ that it is startling to encounter theologians who actually challenge the view that "Paul was the theological expounder and successor of Jesus" and contend that the differences between the two were so many and fundamental that Paul must be regarded as a "second founder of Christianity," and that Jesus, as the historical prophet of Galilee, had little influence upon Paul, and that He was indeed little more than a name borrowed by Paul for a Christ-myth that derived its chief features from other sources. This is the view of Wrede ("Paul," p. 156 *ff.*). The resemblances between the ethical and spiritual teaching of Jesus and Paul are to be explained by a common Judaism. The numerous and radical differences are such as to set the two teachers in contrast rather than in complementary relations. "If we do not wish to deprive both figures of all historical distinctness, the name 'disciple of Jesus' has little applicability to Paul, if it is used to denote a historical relation" (p. 165).

Probably the differences between Jesus and Paul have been underestimated in popular thought: we are conscious of a difference of interest, attitude and atmosphere when we pass from the Synoptics to Paul, and the religious advantage is not with the apostle. "The special moral atmosphere of the sayings of Jesus, their powerful majestic style, their critical keenness, their stress upon truth of heart, have never, one may say, been felt by any finely sensitive soul in the moral preaching of Paul" (p. 159). But we find it difficult to account for Paul's preliminary attraction to the person of Jesus, his choice of Him as the central figure of his theological drama, the evident reverence for Him at every step, and his claim of bond-service to

Him, without postulating a profound consciousness in Paul of our Lord's spiritual and ethical supremacy. Could we believe that he could be insensible to that moral and religious greatness in Jesus which has appealed so powerfully age after age to the world's most sensitive souls, and which inspired an early Church that won its conquests, not so much by its theologies, which were ever changing, nor by its philosophies which were less philosophical than those already known in the Greek world, but by conspicuous and consistent character? Had the early Christians a zeal for the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels, an appreciation of His spirit and an experience of His inspiration, which the missionary founder of those churches had not?

Then, again, we are conscious that while in some respects Paulinism may be regarded as a special version of a general type of contemporary thought, other expressions of which may be found in Rabbinism, Hermetic systems, Gnostic schemes, the Mystery cults and the like, there is a characteristic which marks Paulinism off from other forms of the same genus of thought: this distinguishing feature is a certain ethical spirit which transforms the cruder current notions of gnosis and sacrament. Spiritual fellowship spreads over the more material notions of physical assimilation: though a man may have a gnosis to remove mountains, and know all knowledge and all mysteries, and speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not love, he is nothing. This is not only the message of Paul but the gospel of Galilee at its centre. *The plus which elevates the "gnosticism" of Paul above the theosophies of his day is the spirit that breathes through the Synoptics.* There is a striking common feature between our Lord's teaching of goodness as proceeding from an inward attitude of heart, and Paul's central ethical teaching of Justification by Faith rather than by mere works. The emancipation from tradition

and the return to the deep intuitions of man's religious nature, found in the message of Jesus, have their counterpart in Paul's doctrine of spiritual freedom from the "letter," and the whole conception of the inward Divine in the teaching of Paul. Against Wrede's view may be set the judgments of Wellhausen, Harnack and others that "Paul was truly the man who understood the gospel of Jesus." It may be claimed that such spiritual and ethical ideas were emerging in the general consciousness of a nobler Judaism of the time, but in view of the double fact of their conspicuousness in the teaching of Jesus, and of the exalted position given to Him by Paul from first to last, one finds it hard to resist the inference that Paul owed his spiritual and ethical inspiration, not to a general time-spirit of nobler Judaism, but definitely and specifically to Jesus of Nazareth.

Nor must it be overlooked that Paul's Christianity, despite his repudiation in a heated moment (Gal. i. 11*ff.*), issued from a primitive Church, which through its leaders had direct and personal associations with the historical Jesus, and that two of the three Synoptic Gospels, were compiled by men who were fellow-labourers with Paul, and one of whom, Luke, was probably his convert. Whatever new elements of elaboration were added in Paulinism, it seems to us that the starting-point and the fundamental feature throughout, was the spiritual and ethical gospel revealed in the Synoptic tradition. Paul was an independent but not an isolated religious thinker, and for his comparative silence in respect to the earthly life and teaching of our Lord, there are intelligible reasons. He may have felt it unnecessary to repeat in writing what he may have given in teaching in his founding of the churches. The silence of the epistles may have been simply due to Paul's presupposition that his readers were already acquainted with the facts. The casual nature of the few references to historical events

(1 Cor. xi., The Last Supper: 1 Cor. xv., The witness of the Resurrection: Gal. iv. 4—"born of a woman") and to the words of Jesus (1 Cor. vii. 10; ix. 14) suggest that Paul was writing to men familiar with the historical tradition. It was not Paul's intention to write a historical gospel. A further reason for the apostle's silence in regard to the events of our Lord's life may be that Paul was sensitive to his disability in speaking of Jesus according to the flesh, inasmuch as he was not an eye-witness, like Peter, James and others. The narrower school of Jewish Christians, hostile to Paul's liberalism, and ready to cry, "I am of Cephas," would naturally take advantage of Paul's disability in this respect, and the apostle was not willing to expose himself to their criticism. His emphasis grew to be upon a Christ of the heart, of whom he could speak with direct and first-hand authority—the "Christ that dwelleth in me" (*cf.* 2 Cor. v. 6). Nevertheless, the Synoptic elements appear clearly in Paul. Our Lord's teaching is found assimilated rather than quoted. "That the ethic of Paul is in all essential respects that of Jesus hardly needs to be demonstrated," says Dr. Morgan ("Religion and Theology of Paul," p. 197). "In both we find the same complete fusion of morality and religion, the same grip of the distinction between the moral and the ceremonial, the same inwardness, the same respect for the autonomy of the individual conscience. In both morality appears as something radically social and is summed up in the commandment of love. It is the same vices which are singled out by Jesus and by His apostles for condemnation . . . it is the same virtues which are exalted. . . . There is but one way of accounting for so striking an agreement. The apostle stood under the influence of the Master."

The events which Paul picks out from the historical life of Jesus are those which are involved in Paul's dis-

tinctive theory of Incarnation, Redemption and mystic union, namely the Last Supper and the Resurrection, and in both cases, he seems to have theologically elaborated and interpreted a simpler tradition. He shows familiarity with the historical tradition recorded in the Synoptics, but chooses from it only what is suitable for his special theological purpose. It is not his concern to make a historical record. He has not the historian's interest and aim.

But the apostle's whole preaching and labour is a witness to a historical inspiration. There must have been a historical basis for Paul's theological development, and a simpler psychological experience associated in some way with a historical figure, before Paul began to frame a theological doctrine to clothe and explain the experience. Paul Wernle ("Sources of our Knowledge of the Life of Jesus," Eng. Trans., p. 4) remarks—"Of the person and life of Jesus, Paul tells us almost nothing. If all his letters were lost, we should not know much less about Jesus than we do. In one sense indeed, Paul gives more than the most copious and exact records could give. We learn from him that a man Jesus was able, in spite of His death on the cross, to stretch forth such power through and beyond His death, that a man like Paul felt himself mastered by Him, redeemed, beatified, so that his own life and the whole world were cloven by Him into two parts—without Jesus; with Jesus. This is a fact which, explain it as we will, simply as a mere fact, fills us with astonishment, and with an irresistible sense of the greatness of Jesus."

II

Hellenistic Influence

Speculation inevitably gathered around the figure of the Nazareth prophet and His work. By the time that the Fourth Gospel, at any rate, was written,

Christianity had definitely assumed in some of its centres and in an important part of its literature, a Hellenistic form.* It had passed from a first to a second version, from a Jewish to a more Gentile interpretation. The nature of the change is thus indicated by Dr. Percy Gardner in his "Historical View of the New Testament" (p. 106 *ff.*)—"To the school of more determinedly Jewish Christians, which had its centre in Jerusalem, Jesus remained even after His death on the cross, essentially the Jewish Messiah, the Deliverer. The day of His triumph was but postponed. Very soon in the life-time of the existing generation of Christians He was to come again in glory upon the clouds of heaven, amid which He had departed, and was to establish upon the earth a glorified kingdom, in which the saints were to reign with Him, and the apostles to sit upon thrones judging Israel and judging all nations. . . . According to this school, those who believed in the Messiahship of Jesus and joined the Christian circle, must conform to the law of Moses, without which they could have neither part nor lot in a hope which belonged exclusively to the chosen people. The Christians were to remain as far as possible free from all worldly ties: they were to account nothing which they possessed as their own: they were to live in daily expectation of the trumpet blast which should call dead and living before the judgment seat of Christ. . . . The other school was at once wider and more spiritual. It was ready to admit Gentiles to the fold on less rigorous conditions. It recognized a call to labour not for Israel only but for the whole world. It did not abandon the hope of a speedy coming of the Son of Man but it also maintained that its Master had not really forsaken it, so that spiritual

* This does not imply that the Fourth Evangelist had ceased to be a Jew. Jewish scholars are impressed with the genuinely Jewish character of the Gospel. But Greek ideas are unmistakably present.

communion was possible with Him at all times. It interpreted in a less literal and a more spiritual sense the prophecies and types of Christ to be found in the Old Testament. It even before long began to use the philosophy of Alexandria and Asia Minor, to explain to itself the nature and the operation of the exalted Christ."

III

The question arises—what part had Paul in this momentous development: was his the hand that directed Christian speculation in the Hellenistic direction? In what measure did he prepare for the Logos interpretation of Christ, or the sacramentalism of the early Second Century? Schweitzer contends that Hellenistic influences upon Paul were practically negligible. The Jewish prejudices of his father's house would shut him up against the tendencies of his Tarsus environment. The use of the Greek tongue brought him no Greek ideas. Greek influence was limited to the mere use of Greek terms for conceptions which were derived almost solely from late Judaism. The apostle lived in Anatolian and Hellenistic communities as little influenced by his environment as a strict Romanist would be in the midst of a Protestant population. There was no real impression made by the Mystery cults on Paul: the resemblances noted between Mystery ideas and Pauline conceptions of gnosis and sacraments, if not entirely accidental, were superficial. Nor did Paul lie in that line of development which in the following generations found expression in the Fourth Gospel and in the Greek Fathers and apologists. Paul's direction was apocalyptic: he carried forward late Judaism to further issues, but these did not lead to Hellenism. Effort at a different angle was necessary to connect the primitive Church with the Church of the Logos Christ and of

Salvation by Mysticism. In Schweitzer the warning against a theory of over-Hellenization seems to have led to the error of the other extreme.*

IV

That Paul retained his Jewish instincts to the end even if in modified form: that his speculations began and travelled far within the bounds of late Judaism: that many of its Hellenic and gnostic features can be accounted for by an earlier graft of these elements upon the religious ideas with which Paul would become familiar in Rabbinical circles, in Jewish-Persian apocalypse, in Jewish-Alexandrian literature—all this is undeniable. But on the other hand, Paul showed himself able to challenge such a deeply set Jewish institution as circumcision; he revealed a free and original mind even in giving a new Christian interpretation to Rabbinical speculation; he had spent his boyhood in Tarsus, famed for its religious cults and Stoic philosophy; he moved about in Hellenistic and Anatolian communities, in districts specially noted for their Mystery associations; he had Alexandrian Apollos as a co-worker and Ephesian Asiarchs as his friends; he was observant of the customs, the games, the laws of the Gentile world and was familiar in his native Judaism with ideas which might well prepare an active mind to new and direct grafts of Hellenistic thought without these seeming altogether alien; his age also was eclectic. It is only reasonable that such a one should in some degree be influenced by Hellenism,

* Ed. Meyer (" Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums," vol. iii., 315 *f.*) emphatically denies that Paul was a Hellenist in the full sense of the word, or that Christianity was essentially a Hellenistic product (" Da mein ganzes Buch der Widerlegung dieser Ansichten dienst). But between, for example, Schweitzer and Bousset, are all grades of possibilities! Paul may be largely influenced by Hellenism without being Hellenist " im vollen Sinne des Wortes."

and should take a part in carrying forward Judaistic Christianity towards the further Hellenistic stage conspicuously evident in the next period of the history of the Church. In addition to these general grounds of probability, specific evidences have been adduced to show Hellenistic elements in Paul's thought. There are striking parallels with Stoic thought. Common ideas even similarly expressed are found in Paul and Seneca, which suggest, if hardly a borrowing one from the other, a dependence upon a common source.

Pfleiderer claims that Pharisaic and Hellenistic trains of ideas form two streams which in Paulinism meet in one bed without coalescing ("Primitive Christianity," vol. i., p. 436). Schweitzer cannot conceive that this is possible. "The apostle is made to think Judaically with one half his mind and Hellenically with the other half, and nevertheless is supposed to be capable of being conceived as a single integral personality" ("Paul and His Interpreters," p. 71). On the other hand, Wrede shows how illogically and inconsistently Paul's mind can work ("Paul," p. 77); the age was eclectic—witness the psychology of Paul's contemporary—Philo; a fragmentary style of thinking was characteristic of Rabbinical schools (p. 78) and even in more logical generations few thinkers have avoided divided philosophical allegiance!

Schweitzer emphasizes the claim that "inconceivable as it may appear, on the generations in which Greek dogma was taking shape, Paul exercised no influence whatever" (p. 80). The early Greek theology is concerned with the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ and with regeneration. Paul's speculations deal with the death and resurrection of the Lord and he never speaks of regeneration. Harnack and Hatch are invoked to show that the process of Hellenization in the history of dogma only begins after the time of Paul. It is true that in the Fourth Gospel, Paul's scheme of Atonement through the death of Christ has

fallen into the background, and the idea of Incarnation has gained new attention, definition and emphasis; but on the other hand, the Logos doctrine which comes to the forefront in the Fourth Gospel, is, we believe, clearly forming in Paul's writings (see p. 109 *f.*). In Ephesians and Colossians the "concept of the Logos, though not expressly mentioned, is clearly indicated and transferred to the person of Christ" (E. F. Scott, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 54). Further, the Gnostic and Mystery elements which the advocates of Hellenistic influence trace in Paul, have become more important in the Fourth Gospel. John exhibits a double attitude of sympathy and suspicion in regard to Gnostic and Sacramental tendencies. "On the one hand, there are fair grounds for argument that the first aim of the evangelist was to counteract the heretical teaching. On the other hand, we seem led to conclude on equally positive evidence that he himself had accepted at least partially, the chief principles of Gnosticism" (*ibid.*, p. 98). The Fourth Evangelist is a thinker too independent and original to make a slavish copy of Paul, but had there not been Paul it is very unlikely that we should have the Fourth Gospel in its present form, and the preparation Paul made for the Fourth Evangelist seems to lie in the Hellenistic features in Paul of a Logos Christ, and a gnosis and mystic communion with Deity, owing some elements of thought-form to the Mystery cults of the Hellenistic world, though having their real basis in a deeper personal experience of the soul. The weakness of Schweitzer's critical principles seems to us an overemphasis on the requirement of precise consistency in a writer like Paul, and an unwillingness to allow any *influence* unless there is practically an *identity* of scheme and system, never found in dealing with creative writers.

V

Influence of Late Judaism

But we believe that Schweitzer is right in finding the *chief* background for Paul's speculative thought in late Judaism, and that Hellenistic and Gnostic influences came to him through this channel rather than directly, at any rate in the first instance. But to accept this is not to exclude a further graft of "free" Hellenism, for which we may conceive the foreign elements which had become incorporated in late Judaism, would prepare the mind of the apostle.*

Later direct contact with Gentile ideas would presumably stimulate and develop what had come in germ from later Judaism. The new ideas would not be absolutely unfamiliar and alien. There was "sanction" for them in the literature of the chosen nation that possessed the "oracles of God."

Schweitzer suggests that we must not judge the Rabbinism of Paul's day by the Rabbinical writings produced from the third century onwards. He thinks it "may have been more living in thought and more profound than the men of later time could understand or their traditions preserve." He considers it probable that the Apocalypse of Ezra, along with its satellite, the Apocalypse of Baruch, are witnesses to a Rabbinicism or a movement within its sphere, of which Rabbinical tradition, which later became fixed in written form, gives us no information.†

* We think this far more likely than Schweitzer's statement that the Hellenistic elements in Judaism would produce "immunisation against further syncretic infection" ("Paul and His Interpreters," p. 176).

† Stanton ("Jewish and Christian Messiah") regards this pseudepigraphic literature as popular work depreciated by Rabbinical scholars. It represents orthodox Judaism treated from a general point of view and without Rabbinical exactness. Its abandonment by the Jews was probably due to its being eagerly taken up by Christians who welcomed its Messianic element.

In the former work are "elaborate discussions of the problem of sin, the fall of our first parents, election, wrath, long-suffering and mercy of God, the prerogative of Israel, the significance of the law, the temporal and eternal Jerusalem, of the prospect of dying or surviving to the Parousia, of the tribulation of the times of the end, and of the judgment"—ideas and interests which find treatment in Paul. Pauline statements in reference to angelology and demonology have all their analogies in late Jewish theology. Of the Apocalypse of Baruch, Dr. Charles says (Art. "Apoc. Lit.," *Ency. Bibl.*)—"Written between A.D. 50 and 100 it furnishes us with the historic setting and background of many of the New Testament problems, and thereby enables us to estimate the contributions made in this respect by Christian thought. Thus whereas from xlix. 2-li., we see that the Pauline doctrine of the Resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. 33-50, was not an innovation but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism, it is clear on the other hand from the teaching of this book on Works and Justification, Forgiveness and Original Sin and Free Will, what a crying need there was for the Pauline dialectic, and what an immense gulf lay between Christian and Rabbinical teaching." We have thus a germ of Paulinism in late Judaism, but a significant development in the writings of Paul is also apparent and must be explained by new factors, genius, influences; Christological parallels with the Wisdom literature will be noted later (p. 107).

VI

Influence of Tarsus

We must now attempt to trace in more detail the nature and development of Paul's thought. We may conceive that zeal for the faith of his fathers and his

pride of race would not suffer from the fact that his home was away from Palestine, in the Cilician town of Tarsus. This circumstance might well intensify his enthusiasm for Judaism. The greatest nationalists are often found where proximity to men of other races challenges nationalism, and stimulates the sense of distinctiveness. Racial "clannishness" is a phenomenon of foreign soil. Paul was circumcised the eighth day, taught to take a pride in his Hebrew ancestry, and in the special claim that his family was of the tribe of Benjamin: his training was directed towards Phariseeism and the child of Gentile Tarsus grew into a young man with fanatical devotion to Judaism.

But all this does not signify that Paul was closed up even in his Tarsus days against influences from the Gentile world. That would have been well nigh impossible. Although he apparently knew Aramaic sufficiently well to make a public speech in it (Acts xxi. 40), his natural language was Hellenistic Greek and this sooner or later would open a world of Greek ideas to him. He would become familiar with them whatever might be the measure of his personal acceptance of them. The presence in the Tarsus synagogue of Gentiles who were interested in the pure faith of Judaism would set the boy's mind working on the problem of the relations of Jews and Gentiles, and their respective religious ideas. At Tarsus, he would gain some acquaintance with the rites and theories of the heathen cults. The Baal of Tarsus, Sandan, seems to have belonged to the Adonis-Tamuz type of vegetation gods (Frazer, "Adonis, Attis, Osiris," pp. 91 *ff.*). In his native town the boy Saul would "note the sporadic outbursts of a popular religion which drew people in processions out to the country and kept them there till their god who had died, rose again, and changed their mood from sorrow to joy" (Art. "Paul," *E.R.E.*, Menzies and Edie). Plutarch in his life

of Pompeius (ch. xxiv.) speaks of the Cilician pirates of Tarsus who "offered strange or foreign sacrifices at Olympus, and celebrated mysterious rites of which that of Mythra is preserved up to now." This incident was about 63 B.C. The reference is somewhat ambiguous and Cumont, Kennedy and others refuse to build upon it a theory of the existence of Mithraic Mysteries in Paul's day, but it suggests some association of Tarsus with Mystery cults of some kind at an early date. Pfleiderer ("Primitive Christianity," vol. i., p. 53) remarks—"The possibility cannot, I think, be denied that Paul, the citizen of Tarsus, had some slight knowledge of the heathen cults practised there, and that pictures and representations of this kind so impressed themselves upon his memory that later, when they were called forth by natural association of ideas from the background of his consciousness, they became prepared material for the combinations formed by the genius of the apostle."

VII

Stoicism

Tarsus was also an important seat of Stoic philosophy which would be taught not only in the lecture rooms but in the market-places as in Athens itself (Acts xvii.), and young Saul could not have failed to come into some contact with it, at any rate on its popular side. Lightfoot ("Dissertations on the Apostolic Age," p. 256) and others have shown the striking parallels between St. Paul and the Stoic Seneca, and although it may be impossible to assert definitely that there was any direct connection between the two writers, it seems practically certain that both were influenced in some degree from the same source, although the measure of that influence upon Paul or its inwardness may be much disputed. Schweitzer cites the very different

attitude of Christianity and Stoicism towards suicide as an instance of deep distinction between the two. But surely Paul could accept ideas without endorsing everything in the system in which they were found. Stoic teaching in general must have been recognized as lofty and noble by one so ethically and spiritually sensitive as Paul has shown himself to be, and could hardly fail to affect him, not only directly in the substance of his own writings, but in inducing a liberal and sympathetic attitude sooner or later towards noble thinkers such as these outside the pale of Judaism.

We find Paul quoting from the actual Greek classics: "For even as one of your own poets has said—'For we are also his offspring'" (Acts xvii. 28), a line which has been found in Aratus and in the Stoic Cleanthes. In 1 Cor. xv. 23, occur the words "Evil company doth corrupt good manners"—a line also found in Menander and Euripides. But this does not imply that Paul had any direct acquaintance with the Greek classics. These may have been lines which had "caught on" in popular talk. Nevertheless, Paul's use of them suggests a certain catholicity of spirit: there was no bigoted root and branch abhorrence of the Gentile world. As in the case of Saul's Tarsus acquaintance with the heathen rites and cults, these Stoic elements at Tarsus would be unlikely to have immediate influence upon Saul's thought. They would only pass from the stage of acquaintance to that of appeal and conviction, as experience and the development of personal thought found places for them in the apostle's mental life and living belief. For the moment they would lie in the background of his mental life and consciousness. His first appearance at Jerusalem in the record of Acts suggests little liberalism or mental hospitality towards non-Jewish thought.

Even in the Jewish College of Gamaliel, the influence of Hellenism was present. He is said to have encouraged the study of Jewish-Hellenistic literature,

and there are evidences that Paul was familiar, for instance, with the Jewish-Alexandrian Wisdom of Solomon (Grafe: St. John Thackeray, though Focke and Ed. Meyer are critical of the conclusion). The figure of the Logos in its Jewish form of Wisdom, is to be found in this Jewish-Alexandrian literature, but the presence of the conception in Paul is more intelligible if we find a later direct Logos influence stimulating Paul's interest in, or directing his attention to the somewhat inconspicuous "Wisdom" references in the Jewish-Alexandrian books.

This Hellenistic influence whether "free" or incorporated into late Judaism, in as far as it proceeded from the ethical and philosophical traditions of the great days of Greek thought, would fall under what we have called the "prophetic" head. The "Return to Nature" from Thales onward, had given a scientific quality to Greek thinking for five centuries, and though philosophy had fallen into days of degeneration and was making strange amalgams with Oriental thought, still there lingered in Greek speculation something of the value and suggestiveness of the great days of Plato and Aristotle, and the incorporation of these elements into Christianity made it possible for later thinkers with acute minds to accept Christian tradition as shaped by Paul and the Fourth Evangelist without violation to intellectual conscience.

VIII

The Jewish Torah

Paul's "natural" religion, ethics and faith which rested upon experience of life, and could ever be confirmed by reference to the experiences of life and soul, would also be enriched by the teachings of the Jewish Torah. The Pauline challenge to the sufficiency of the Law must not blind us to its excellencies. Montefiore reminds us that the Torah bade men show

"chastity, righteousness, compassion and loving-kindness in every-day life. It preached love of God and love of neighbour. Orphan and widow were to be tended and looked after. If you were hated by your neighbour you had to do that man a good turn, and not an evil one, and in no wise to leave him in the lurch when an opportunity occurred. Reverence for parents, respect for the old, compassion and generosity towards the poor and afflicted were emphatically ordained."

At the same time the Torah failed to meet some of the deepest tests of natural or prophetic religion, the deepest judgments of the unsophisticated human heart. There was the tendency to make religion a mechanical round of good deeds rather than a primary matter of inward character from which good deeds would naturally proceed. There was a danger that religion should become commercialized: that the favour of God should be purchased at a certain marketable price, reckoned in counters of good deeds, a purchase more easy for a man of leisure and wealth than for his poorer and busier neighbours. There was also a peril of legalism stereotyping living faith. The letter of the law was considered perfect and final. Religion was not made to grow. It had become a thing of settled commands and prohibitions instead of a spiritual attitude and a growing idealism after the greatest good. The undoubted superiority of Jewish religion over that of surrounding cults led to a certain unhappy conceit and contempt of other people. Faith grew to be a national preserve, a good thing to be kept but not shared, or only a pale copy of its blessings might be extended on condescending terms to the Gentile proselyte. Amid so many virtues, universal humanism and sympathy had little place. A good which was selfishly clutched and not shared, lost the supreme quality of goodness. The failure of Judaism to satisfy men's souls must not be taken as an instance of the

insufficiency of natural or prophetic religion to answer the human need. It did not demonstrate the necessity of apocalyptic or sacramental elements. *Judaism failed because it was not a sufficiently great and noble natural religion. It fell short of the fulness of its type.* It had become artificialized, and needed that "return to nature" which Jesus effected for it. As a matter of fact, it possessed apocalyptic elements, but these were not its strength but its distraction. Judaism did not need a doctrine of Messiahship or apocalyptic advent—it needed a fuller conception of prophetic religion, and herein lay the significance of the work of Jesus. In the deepest of senses, He came not to destroy but to fulfil the law and the prophets. We believe that only as Paul, consciously or unconsciously, entered into that labour of Jesus, did he become a wise master-builder of Christian teaching. *In the fulfilment of the "prophetic" element, this natural faith arising from nature in its fulness and ever confirmable by it, is to be found the centrality of the gospel, of Paulinism and of permanent Christianity.*

This natural prophetic religion must not be interpreted as a mere matter of ethical conduct. It will include a satisfaction of those intuitions of communion with God and participation in an eternal order, which belong to the deepest and fullest in human personality. *Natural religion must be mystical as well as ethical, and these must interact.* The "pure in heart" will "see God." Works must find motive in that deeper faith which is no mere acceptance of intellectual propositions, but a spiritual experience. Action must proceed, not from mere reasoning but from a spiritual *élan vital.* A distinction must be drawn between religion based on universal institutions and instincts, and the religion "revealed" in complex and detailed terms. The former falls under the head of natural or "prophetic" faith—the latter belongs to the "apocalyptic" type.

IX

Rabbinism

At Jerusalem, if not earlier, Saul would become familiar with ideas and literature of late Judaism—the apocalyptic speculations, the discussions of Justification, Works, Adam's Sin, the Enochian Messiah, Angelology and Demonology, the Birth-Pangs preceding the Messianic Age, the Parousia and Judgment. Here, too, he would learn the Rabbinical spirit and methods of argumentation. The problem arises as to what extent all this prepared him for later direct gnostic and apocalyptic influence, or indeed whether it was sufficient in itself to account for such elements in Pauline Christianity. It may be said of Paul as it is said of Philo that it is almost impossible to know where Rabbinism ends and direct Gentile influence begins. Personally we take the view that both factors operated, and that the former prepared Paul's mind for the latter, but the exact dividing line may never be very clearly determined. This is not very important, however: the significant fact is that in these strange speculations, Paul was speaking in the language of his day, and not in unique celestial vocabulary, and further that these apocalyptic terms and ideas, at whatever stage Paul became acquainted with them, and whatever the channel of influence, had their ancestry chiefly in early world myths. Their significance must be sought in the deeper "prophetic" experiences which they clothe.

X

The Primitive Christian Community

Paul emerges in the Acts as a persecutor of the primitive Christian Church (vii. 58; viii. 1, 3) taking some part in the fatal mobbing of Stephen, and

vigorous in the persecutions following. To this phase he makes repeated later reference, not only in the speeches of Acts (xxii. 4, 5; xxvi. 10, 11), but in his own letters (Gal. i. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 9). The question arises whether the scene of the persecution can be placed in Jerusalem, as the narrative in Acts presents. The tradition of a Jerusalem persecution is thrice given in Acts, and here occurs in speeches of Paul where we should expect historical reliability. It was a period of Luke's personal companionship. On the other hand, it is claimed that the incident of the high-priest's letters (ix. 1; xxii. 5; xxvi. 10), "plainly bears the stamp of unhistoricity" (Bousset, "Kyrios-Christos," p. 92; Loisy, "Les Mystères Païens," p. 317. Against this view—Ed. Meyer, "Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums," vol. iii., p. 163), and in Gal. i. 22 Paul states that he was still unknown by face to the churches of Judea. On the other hand, one notes the ἡμᾶς of ver. 23—"he that once persecuted *us*" and we need to remember that ten years had elapsed since those days. F. Rendall (Ex. G.T.) translates ver. 22—"I *was becoming* unknown." The narrative in Acts also asserts that Paul shortly after his conversion exercised a preaching ministry in Jerusalem (ix. 28) apparently brief. The objections suggested by Gal. i. 22 do not seem conclusive against the Jerusalem persecution, and Bousset concedes the possibility of its historicity in his later work ("Jesus der Herr," p. 31). The question of Paul's relations with Jerusalem is of interest in view of the claim that his knowledge of Christianity in the first instance was derived, not from a Jerusalem "form of doctrine" but from a form already Hellenized and found in Antioch, Tarsus and Damascus.

XI

The Doctrines of the Primitive Community

It is important to enquire what views were held in the Church at the date of Paul's conversion. Some development had undoubtedly taken place. Speculation began early and had already reached a definite stage in the primitive Christian community before Paul embraced Christianity. The burden of the early speeches of Acts was that of Messiahship, Resurrection, Salvation, Second Adventism. This Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God by mighty works and wonders and signs, crucified but raised up from the dead since it was not possible that He should be holden by death, had been made by God, both Lord and Christ (Peter's speech, Acts ii.). Schweitzer is right in pointing out that in some respects the religion of the primitive community had become a new thing—a faith with the emphasis on the death and resurrection, and that this new element was not brought into Christianity by Paul. He found it there before him, and what he did was to think out its logical implications. But had the development gone further, and that in a definite Hellenistic direction? Had the Church at the date of Paul's conversion been influenced by the Hellenistic mysteries, so that it had come to worship Christ as the Hellenistic cults worshipped Attis or Serapis, giving Him the definite technical divine name—Kyrios, Lord, and already attaching to the Communion Meal the values of the assimilation rites of the Gentile thiasi?*

"Was the introduction of Christ worship and of the Kyrios title the work of Paul?" asks Dr. Morgan

* In A.D. second century papyri one reads—"I thank the Lord (κύριος) Serapis that when I was in peril in the sea, he saved me immediately. . . . I make supplication for thee daily to the Lord Serapis" (Deissmann, "Light from the Ancient East," pp. 169, 177).

(" The Religion and Theology of Paul," p. 50). " The supposition must be at once dismissed. Everywhere the apostle assumes that his conception of Christ was that of the Church in general. While we read of a conflict of opinion regarding the Law, we read of none regarding the person of Christ and the homage to be rendered to Him. In this matter James, Peter, and Barnabas—all Jewish Christians—seem to have been at one with the apostle, and Paul gives no hint of having once cherished a different view. From the beginning Paul stood on the ground of Hellenistic or Gentile Christianity."

XII

Was there Early Hellenistic Influence on the Primitive Community?

This theory depends upon the establishment of several points. It must be shown that the term κύριος would not be applied to Christ except in the technical sense of the Mystery cults and under their influence. The term is common enough in the gospels to signify dominus, master, sir. It is a title of social respect. The vine-dresser of the parable uses it to address his master (Luke xiii. 8), and it is the name for the donor of the feast in Luke xiv. 21. So also Jesus is addressed on several occasions where there is no theological idea present to a natural reading (Matt. viii. 2; xv. 27, etc.). The application of the term to Jesus as the head of the company of the disciples or of the Church, naturally proceeds from this common usage.

But a higher significance would become attached to the term, even apart from any non-Jewish influence. The psalm from which the quotation " The Lord said unto my Lord " came, was evidently taken as having a Messianic reference (Weber, Edersheim, Cheyne, Driver, see Exp. G.T. on Acts ii. 34) as is shown by

Christ's use of it. This also seems implied in Peter's quotation (Acts ii. 34). Two verses later Peter concludes that God has made this Jesus *Lord* and Christ —apparently here synonymous terms. In Gentile circles, the term Lord would be a suitable equivalent for such a Jewish technical term as Son of Man (apocalyptic Enochian Messiah), and it is significant that in St. Paul's writings the title Son of Man has completely disappeared. But the term Kyrios comes into prominence—*e.g.*, " If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Kyrios and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved " (Rom. x. 9). Every epistle, even the earliest —the Thessalonian letters—opens and closes with the name " Lord Jesus Christ " in the salutation and benediction. Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Kyrios to the glory of the Father (Phil. ii. 11). It is true that κύριος is also the Septuagint equivalent of the Old Testament Jahweh, but the term as applied to Christ in the early speeches of Acts or Thessalonians, and possibly throughout the Pauline writings, is most naturally taken as signifying the function of Jesus more or less as Enochian Son of Man. It does not necessarily imply Deity in the Hellenistic sense or carry the connotation of the Kyrios of Hellenistic Mystery cults.

XIII

Tendencies Towards the Deification of Christ

It is pointed out, however, that not only is this term, used in the Mystery cults to signify the god, applied to Christ by the primitive Church, but that Jesus is worshipped and invoked as were the Mystery deities, whereas in Judaism the idea would have been foreign and abhorrent. " Nowhere in the Synoptic Gospels does Jesus ask of His disciples divine honour and nowhere does He receive it. Nor is it possible

to account for Christ worship as a development of the Messianic idea. Of a worship of the Jewish Messiah, Apocalyptic knows nothing. . . . To Judaism, angel worship is foreign. . . . One can say with all assurance that on the soil of a strict monotheism, the new cult did not and could not arise. There is but one possible explanation, and it is to be found in the fact that at an early period of its history, Christianity was carried from the soil of Judaism to that of Hellenism" (Morgan, "The Religion and Theology of Paul," p. 46 *f.*). We have against this, Schweitzer's view ("Paul and His Interpreters," p. 194)—"Jesus it cannot be sufficiently emphasized is not thought of as a god but only as a heavenly being who is entrusted with the mission of bringing in a new world. It was only later in the Greek and Gnostic theology that He was deified. For Paul, He is the Son of God in the simple Old Testament and Apocalyptic sense."

We believe this is true for the early period at any rate, although we can see tendencies at work making for the definite Christ-worship of later days. In the account of the stoning of Stephen in Acts vii., Jesus seems to be directly invoked as a God. "And they stoned Stephen, calling upon (ἐπικαλούμενον) . . . and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Here Jesus seems functioning as the Jahweh-Kyrios of the Septuagint, the God who hears prayer, or as Serapis or Attis of the Hellenistic Mystery cults. But in some respects this case is unique. Just before this invocation, Stephen had declared his vision of the Christ living and standing before him—what more natural then that the cry should fall from his lips to the figure of the present vision—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." It was all natural, spontaneous, untheological! Paul's conversation with the Jesus appearing before him in the Damascus vision is similar. Indeed if there should be a clear case for invocations to Christ of this nature in other instances (*e.g.*, 2 Cor. xii. 8,

where however the reference, we believe, is ambiguous), it would not be hard to realize the reasoning which lay behind it. The disciples believed in a Christ *who having risen from the dead* was still alive!—why not supplicate for His help, as men did in the days of His flesh ?

XIV

Invocations to Christ

Along another line it is not impossible to conceive invocations to Christ without the explanation of direct borrowing from the idea of the Mystery cults. We must remember that the Enochian Son of Man and Messiah who should return again in glory, was regarded as in some sense supernatural. It may be that "of a worship of the Messiah, Jewish Apocalyptic knows nothing" and that to Judaism even "angel worship is foreign." But in the angelology of the pre-Christian period can be seen "the germ from which has sprung the widespread invocation of angels and spirits in the worship of the Christian Church" (Fairweather, "Hastings' Dictionary," Extra Volume, p. 286a). (*Cf.* Dives and Father Abraham, Luke xvi., to illustrate the tendency.) The idea of individual angelic guardianship is seen in Tobit (v. 21)—"A good angel shall go with him, and his journey shall be prospered and he shall return safe and sound." Seven holy angels of which Raphael is one, present the prayers of the saints (Tobit xii. 12 *ff.*). The tendency of such doctrine would be to lead to some form of adoration of these supernatural powers, and to invocation of those who receive the prayers to pass them on to God Himself. In Rev. xxii. 8, John is rebuked for falling down to worship an angel, but the very rebuke suggests a reproof of a current tendency. Angel worship is specifically condemned in Col. ii. 18. The passage need not be taken as an indication

that none but the Supreme may be invoked, but that the angels must not usurp the mediating function of Christ. These instances show, however, how readily the human mind may come to worship, not merely the Supreme, but the supernatural beings conceived as possessing special functions affecting human destiny. If it should be contended that Jewish monotheism would keep the good Jew from any such tendency of angel worship or worship of an apocalyptic Enochian Messiah, why should not that same monotheism exclude for the Jewish mind the suggestions of the Hellenistic cults to worship a Kyrios other than Jahweh? If the Judaism of Peter and James and Barnabas should keep them from some form of worship of Christ as supernatural Enochian Messiah, why should these same men receive so readily the Kyrios-Worship of Hellenistic pagan cults, as the theory requires?

Our own view is that in the early period Jesus was regarded as Son of God in the simple Old Testament and Apocalyptic sense. He is the *Lord* Jesus Christ because He is Head of the Christian community, and the Messiah-Kyrios of Psalm 110. The Resurrection has shown Him as still living and active, guarding and directing His servants as the pre-Christian Apocrypha angels were conceived as doing (*cf.* 1 Thess. iii. 11, etc.). On occasion, particularly when actual vision of a risen glorified Jesus is granted, the believer naturally addresses Him spontaneously and without theological consciousness or metaphysical significance. As far as normal utterances in the New Testament indicate a definite and deliberate theory, there seems little support for the invocation of Jesus in prayer. Believers are described as "those who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. ii. 2). But the passage may be read to signify prayers *to God in the name of Christ*, for as Dr. Morgan concedes ("The Religion and Theology of Paul," p. 45), in general "Christ is introduced only as presenting the

prayer to God. In the New Testament, the standing practice is not prayer to Christ but prayer to God in Christ's name. . . . Not till a comparatively late period did the practice of prayer to Christ receive the sanction of the Church. Origen assumes that it is common, but opposes it, insisting on prayer in the name." It is not *to* Jesus but in the name of Jesus, every knee should bow (Phil. ii. 10).*

XV

Judaistic and Hellenistic "Forms of Doctrine" in the Pre-Pauline Church

Other scholars find the Kyrios-cult established within Christianity before Paul's conversion, but claim that it was only to be found in the Hellenistic branch of the Church. There was in these circles a Hellenistic type of Christianity which stood in some contrast to the Judaistic type of the Jerusalem disciples. Bousset tells us that it is not always sufficiently realized that between Paul and the Palestine Christian Church stands the Hellenistic community in Antioch, Damascus, and Tarsus. With the former, Paul's relations were of the slenderest nature. The autobiography of Galatians seems witness to this. The apostle is independent of flesh and blood at Jerusalem, but the case is different with the Hellenistic community. The Christian "tradition" of 1 Cor. xv. 1 *ff.*, has been derived by Paul not directly from Jerusalem but from Antioch. And it is from this Hellenistic community which has already introduced the Kyrios title and worship for Christ, that Paul has received his Christian faith and practice ("Kyrios-Christos," pp. 92 *ff.*).

Loisy ("Les Mystères Païens," pp. 303 *ff.*), following the Galatian autobiography, finds Paul three years

* For potency of the name of Christ see Heitmüller, "Im Namen Jesu," p. 88 *f.*

after his conversion going up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Peter in order to reconcile his own type of faith, which was Hellenistic, with that of the Jerusalem community. His motive was a certain concern for what might be called Christian unity. So diverse were the types that the mission was only partially successful. Paul was not asked to preach publicly at Jerusalem, for his semi-foreign Christianity would not have been acceptable. Thus he only saw Peter and James—to the rest he remained unknown by face. When Peter came to Antioch Paul resisted him publicly, because before certain from James had come, "he had eaten with the Gentiles," not, so Loisy thinks, in a mere social way, but at the Lord's Supper. He had recognized the spiritual fellowship of the Hellenists. Peter had withdrawn from that attitude. "L'importance que Paul attache au fait résulte précisément de ce que l'abstention de Pierre constitue une sorte d'excommunication à l'égard des chrétiens de la gentilité" (p. 314). The existence of a Peter party at Corinth leads one to suppose that the apostle of the circumcision never completely shared Paul's views. Loisy further finds the explanation of Paul's persecution of the early Christian Church—that is, rejecting the historicity of the Jerusalem persecution—in his hatred of the Hellenistic features which had appeared in it. "On pourrait s'étonner que le christianisme de Jacques, de Pierre et de Jean lui ait paru si subversif du judaisme. Mais ce n'est pas ce christianisme là qu'il a connu d'abord." It was a Hellenistic type of Christianity which he persecuted and to which later he had become converted. "In one sense he was nearer to the Jewish party before his conversion to Christ than when he himself made a Christian profession."

XVI

In examining these theories we must lay stress on the fact that "from the records as we have them in the letters it appears certain that the original apostles reproached Paul with his attitude towards the law and *found no other point to object to in his teaching*. The primitive Christian community at Jerusalem did not discover anything new or essentially foreign in his thought: it was never made a charge against him that he had 'heathenized' the Gospel." From this Schweitzer argues that the thought developed by Paul had not grown up on the soil of Hellenism but must rather be sought as developments of later Judaistic speculation. With this we agree to a point. It may of course be contended that the Jewish Christian mind had not become sensitive to this side of things; that its interest was in the clear concrete problems of law and circumcision; that it was here in these touch-stone details that Paul showed himself the troubler of Israel; that religious controversy fixes itself generally upon one or two concrete points, tests everything by them and is often oblivious to other issues which a later generation or profounder thinkers may deem of equal if not greater importance; that current Rabbinicism contained strange ideas enough and that a Rabbinical student like Paul might indulge in many unfamiliar eccentricities without drawing serious suspicions upon himself, but that a challenge to circumcision and a lack of reverence towards the law—these would constitute the grand offence!

But it seems to us more likely that there was not for many years anything in Paul's general thought which would provoke doctrinal challenge. His views on the person of Christ, on Baptism, on the Church Meal lay within the sphere of natural Jewish development. Peter, James, Barnabas, Paul, all shared a common faith. Except for the attitude towards the

law and circumcision there was no controversy between the Jewish school of Christians and Paul, for the simple reason that no grounds of controversy existed. The agreement was not because the primitive Jewish-Christian community had become Hellenized before Paul's conversion, as Dr. Morgan suggests, but because Paul had not been Hellenized after it—at least not until the development of his thought within Judaism itself had brought him so near in some respects to Hellenism that the entry into Hellenistic conceptions and forms was made without violence or revolution. If this view be justified, a later date for Paul's "Hellenization" as far as it went, is more likely than an early one, nor are there any clear indications of Hellenistic elements being present in either Petrine or Pauline circles until the writing of the second group of epistles. The "atmosphere" was Jewish, even in Paul's addressing *Gentile* Thessalonians (1 Thess. i. 9; ii. 14). Even the speech at Athens, despite its Hellenistic introduction, had a fundamentally Jewish background, and failed to impress a Hellenistic audience. The council at Jerusalem, according to the Lucan account, dealt only with the different attitudes to the law and circumcision, and the references of the Galatian epistle to the earlier controversies seem adequately explained on these issues alone.

We are unconvinced, then, that in the earlier period of New Testament thought, up to the writing of the second group of epistles, the use of the term Kyrios had any Hellenistic cult significance, or that any worship or deification similar to that of the Mystery gods had become attached to Jesus. He remained the apocalyptic Messiah. But tendencies were at work towards invocation and worship, and in the last stages, the influence of the Mystery cults may have played their part. The supernaturalism of the apocalyptic Son of Man, the identification of Jesus with the Logos, the

mystic logia uttered by Christ expressing His oneness with the Father,* were probably more potent factors in the process of deification. It was natural enough that Paul should compare—and contrast—the pagan kyrioi with the Kyrios Jesus (1 Cor. viii. 5, 6)—a title which he and other Christians had been using for decades. But that the latter title had been derived from the Hellenistic cults and had carried with it their connotation in the first instance, seems to us highly improbable. We believe that the main ideas of a " Kyrios theology " must have been well prepared within the Judaistic circle, and that if later some direct influence operated, the Hellenistic forms were rather of the nature of a translation than a fresh borrowing.†

* Matt. xi. 27; possibly much in the " mystical " chapters of the Fourth Gospel rests upon a genuine historical tradition of Christ's sayings.

† " It is not only the influence of the mystery-religions but Greek philosophy which accounts for the development of the belief in an eschatological Messiah into a belief in an actual incarnation of Deity; which turned the doctrine of salvation through the Messiah into a doctrine of a deification through the God-man mediated by the sacraments. . . . It is chiefly (from the nature of the case) in all that relates to the Church and the sacraments that we may trace the influence of the Mysteries as distinct from that of philosophy. The philosophers had a theology and a religion, but they had, as philosophers, nothing to do with religious rites or religious communities " (Rashdall, " The Idea of Atonement," p. 488).

CHAPTER III

THE EARLIER STAGE OF PAUL'S MINISTRY AND THOUGHT

The Conversion—Why should Saul be provoked to such antagonism to Stephen?—Stephen's speech in Acts suggests that he had gained a vital conception of Christianity as a "religion of the spirit" in contrast with Judaism as a religion of the Mosaic letter. Such a conception explained Saul's irritation: it was also a leaven working in the persecutor's thought—The Conversion on the intellectual side; an acceptance of Stephen's conception of religion, accompanied with an appreciation of Jesus and an adoption of the Messianic identification—But there were also moral factors—Saul's realization of the moral and spiritual greatness of Stephen's character and faith—Saul also must "serve the Mightiest"—Saul's sense of a new life, but the new theology would only be worked out gradually in slow stages and with variations—Obscurity of Paul's early ministry—The visit to the "pillars" at Jerusalem—No indication of developed Hellenism at this period—Barnabas and Saul—The subordinate position of the latter—The Jerusalem Council—The fresh situation—New independence of Paul—Thessalonica—The Areopagus speech—The question of Paul's earlier teaching—Difficulties of data—(*a*) The Acts of the Apostles—Presentation of primitiveness of Paul's preaching—Why do the Lucan accounts of the preaching of Paul in the later epistolary period, give no indication of developed theology?—Presumably Luke did not hold the "second version" of Christian thought personally, and did not introduce it into his history—Yet Luke was apparently a convert of Paul—Had Luke "learned Christ" from Paul, when the latter held simpler doctrines, and did the physician disciple retain the simple faith of his conversion while his teacher travelled beyond it?—(*b*) The Epistles to the Thessalonians contain nothing to stand in the way of the theory that Hellenistic development in Paul's thought occurred at a later date than that of the writing of Thessalonians—(*c*) References in Galatians to the earlier teaching—The loose construction of Paul's account of his collision with Peter at Antioch—Summary of Paul's supposed teaching in the early period—Practically identical with that of the Jerusalem leaders—Apocalyptic and Jewish—The Parousia—Ideas of Salvation—Relation to the death of Jesus—Varying connotation of theological terms—Spiritual intuition and apocalyptic—The process of faith does not begin with a theology but with a way of life.

I

The Conversion

How, then, may we conceive the nature of Paul's conversion? It had, we believe, an intellectual side—though not that which Loisy suggests: there was also a working of moral forces making it less a theological change than a moral and spiritual self-realization. As far as it was a change of view, we believe that it meant a new conception of religion for Saul in terms of spirit instead of letter. We are compelled to ask—why should Saul be provoked to such antagonism to Stephen? It is not at all necessary to suppose that Hellenistic ideas of Kyrios-worship and Mystery practice had been introduced so early into Christianity and that Saul was resisting what seemed to be the paganizing and caricaturing of his father's faith. Nor need we believe that the stumbling-block of a rejected, despised and crucified Messiah accounted for Saul's rage and persecuting zeal. The offence of Stephen as recorded in Acts was that he had uttered blasphemous words against Moses and God, had spoken against the Temple and the Law, had claimed that Jesus should destroy the former and change the Mosaic customs (ch. vi. 11 *ff.*). All this points to *a reforming liberalism, on the part of Stephen, in regard to externalities of worship, Mosaic traditions, and especially circumcision*—the practical problem that arose as soon as the faith of Jesus was carried into Hellenistic circles. Stephen's argument was that God's presence was not confined to one place nor associated with one method: its spiritual nature delivered it from stereotyped forms. Equally plain was the fact that the spiritual reformers of Israel's past had ever to endure opposition and persecution. "Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute?" (verse 52). Possibly the phrase—"Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears"

had definite reference to the circumcision controversy, acute alike for Hellenist Stephen and Rabbinical Saul. *If Stephen's liberalism, issuing from the spiritual character of the teachings of Jesus, proved at this time the irritant to Saul, we may judge that this also was the special interest which began to lead Paul to recognize the fundamental difference between the teaching of Jesus and that of Judaism.* The one was a religion of the spirit: the other a religion of the letter. As far as the conversion had an intellectual aspect, this was the change involved in Paul's thought—a revolution which was to govern Paul's future ministry from first to last. Other consequences followed from this master change, notably a new appreciation of Jesus and an acceptance of Him as Messiah, but we suggest that it was this specific point which primarily accounted for the persecution of Stephen and, in part, for the conversion of Paul.

We take it, however, that Paul's persecuting encounter with Stephen and others would affect Paul in another way. What made these persecuted followers of the Nazarene calm, fearless, joyous, morally irreproachable? What made them ready to live and die for their crucified Master? What was the secret of the amazing transformation of their personalities? These phenomena must have made Paul uneasy, less confident about his orthodoxy and his judgment of the new heresy. Had Paul now for the first time a divided mind, and while one side of his nature still drove him on to the crusade of persecution, was there another side, whispering misgivings, setting haunting questions, challenging the course which only so lately seemed unquestionable service to God? Was the vehemence of his persecuting zeal a paradoxical betrayal of that uneasiness? "The advocate is most violent, whether in word or action, when he feels that his cause is weakest." New streams had begun to flow, and were slowly accumulating in Paul's

soul like waters gathering in a reservoir dammed by none too secure a bank. One day, the bank trembled and broke with the weight of mighty waters and the rush swept before it all the old life of the Jewish zealot.

Paul's mental life was of an abnormal type. He was given to seeing visions, and probably a modern psychologist would say that an uprush from Paul's subliminal self threw his experience of revolution into the form of an appearance of the glorified and exalted Christ, followed by a physical reaction of temporary blindness. If we should prefer another and more orthodox statement and explanation, the fact would not be radically altered. The manner of the change was not supremely important: it was the mental revolution itself, in its completeness and effects, which was significant. We are not too certain of the details, for there are somewhat curious variations in the three accounts given in the Acts of the Apostles (ix. 1-16; xxii.; xxvi.).

What was the nature of the change? It did not follow a life of conspicuous sin. Saul had been faithful to his best light: he had shown a zeal for religion as he had honestly conceived it. But the apostle's language in Romans vii., culminating in the cry—"O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" suggests a pre-conversion experience of moral limitation and impotence of which Paul was conscious, even if his fellows did not suspect it. But we must also realize that conversion may be, not a turning away from gross sin, but *a sense of higher life making the old respectability assume a mean and unspiritual aspect.* "The devils in hell are comely to themselves," says Swedenborg, "until an angel of light passes by, and then they realize their ugliness." Paul had become suddenly and acutely aware that in the new movement which he had been persecuting, there was a spiritual passion, an intense life, a transforming power which could make saints

and heroes of men. Here was a faith worthier to be served, and Paul, like Offerus of the Legend of St. Christopher, must "serve the Mightiest." In the presence of this new power and ideal, Paul's previous nature "did tremble like a guilty thing surprised." Paul had seen a larger meaning in religion: at once he became ashamed of what he had been and done, and the new realization of the worth of this persecuted Christianity formed into an overpowering sense of commission. Necessity was laid upon him to preach this gospel.

Paul had gained the sense, not of a new theology but a new life. The new theology only worked itself out gradually, in slow stages and with variations. What other should we expect? Damascus did not give Paul a new, ready-made and permanent system of doctrinal belief.

We must, all the way through, distinguish between the kernel of Paul's spiritual experience, and the husk of his speculations concerning it. Paul had a restless mind, and the intellectual forms of his faith, as with all thinking men, evolved and varied. Twenty years later we find that Paul had advanced far in his theological views towards the full position of the "second school" of New Testament thought, but it is highly improbable that Paul attained that developed faith at one leap.

II

After a public confession of his conversion at Damascus Paul went to Arabia, possibly to think over things quietly and to find out where he stood; possibly, as some scholars (*e.g.*, Kirsopp Lake) think, to undertake a mission to the Arabs. The language of Gal. i. 16—"It was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal His Son in me that I might preach Him among the Gentiles: immediately . . . I went into Arabia"—gives some support for this latter view.

Luke says nothing of this Arabian visit in Acts. Probably it did not last long. Paul was soon back again in Damascus, preaching his new faith with conviction, vigour, and with sufficient success to provoke a desperate Jewish opposition. He had to flee from Damascus, being let down from the city wall in a hamper by night, and soon after appeared at Jerusalem, where for the first time, two or three years after the conversion, he met Peter—though none of the other original disciples—and James, the Lord's brother. In Galatians, Paul makes a good deal of the fact that he lay under no obligation to the original disciples for his teaching and authority. He held strongly that spiritual conviction gives commission, and that the spiritual results of a ministry accredit the minister. Such a commission and credentials he claimed, and in virtue of them, he passionately asserted a right to differ, if need be, from the judgments of the original apostles. *But this attitude does not imply that at this early period, Paul's Christian beliefs were necessarily different from those of the earlier Christian school in any marked degree.* Independence does not necessarily mean contrast. It is only reasonable that he should begin with the earliest Jewish conception of Christianity. At Jerusalem he had appeared as a Hebrew zealot, and would he not naturally come to Christianity with a Jewish mind and find his first affinities with the Jewish type of Christianity, although with a less severe and rigid form than that for which James, for example, stood? There are indications in Acts that already a liberalizing influence was at work in the young Christian community. Peter had learnt a lesson of religious catholicity (Acts x.). Stephen and Philip were Hellenists: Barnabas was a Levite of Cyprus. But as we have suggested, there is no reason to suppose that among the people with whom Paul had cast in his lot, were any who had carried Christianity into that developed stage of thought, afterwards

characteristic of Paulinism, which presented Christ as having the Alexandrian features of the Logos, and interpreted Salvation, Baptism, the Eucharist and the Church itself in the light of mystic experience. Nor is it likely that Paul would immediately work out such a developed system of doctrine.

III

Barnabas and Saul

The most striking fact about the first dozen years of Paul's ministry, is that after all we know so little about it. There are no epistles surviving from this period. If we had only letters from these first twelve years, how much more confidently we might have judged the occasion and nature of the development of the apostle's thought! The references to the period, found in Acts, are scanty and vague. It is as though a thick fog lay over Paul's history with only a piece of isolated information jutting out here and there like a peak above a sea of cloud. We learn, for instance, that at the end of seven years Barnabas came to Tarsus, found Paul there, and together they go to neighbouring Antioch. Then obscurity rests upon another five years. We judge from the order of the names—Barnabas and Saul—that in these days Barnabas was the leading figure, and Saul was assistant, help, curate. A day was coming when the position would be reversed by the precise historian—Paul and Barnabas.

A dozen years had passed since Paul's conversion, a dozen years in which the references to him suggest apprenticeship, subordination, local ministry. So far there was little sign that Paul's ministry was going to mean much to the world, or even that Christianity was going to mean much to the world. Then the fog begins to clear a little, for Luke gives in some fulness an account of the missionary journey undertaken by

Barnabas, Paul (as yet bearing his Jewish name, Saul), and John Mark. Cyprus is worked through from east to west. Saul takes up his Roman name—Paul. The party make for the mainland in a new part of Asia Minor and John Mark for some reason—a reason unsatisfactory to Paul—goes home. When next Barnabas wants to take John Mark with them, Paul objects, and Barnabas and Paul have so serious a disagreement that they go different ways, and Paul has to find a new travelling companion, Silas; a circumstance probably not without effect on Paul's own development.

After Mark's departure, Barnabas and Paul press onward to those cities of Southern Galatia, which henceforward comes so much into Paul's life. The historian of Acts gives with considerable fulness Paul's speech at Antioch of Pisidia, presumably as a specimen of Paul's addresses to the Jews of the Dispersion. It is a speech which indicates no special Pauline development (but see pp. 85 *ff.*). Even xiii. 38 *f.*, "Through this man is proclaimed unto you remission of sins, and by him every one that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses," need not bear the "Justification by Faith" significance of Galatians or Romans. The speech as a whole might just as well have been delivered by Peter or Stephen.

IV

The Jerusalem Council

The journey which Ramsay thinks took two years, had shown the possibilities of a Christian evangel for the Gentile world, but the new practical development had raised the inevitable question—must the Gentiles who accept Christianity be compelled to conform to Judaism and other Jewish ordinances?

Must the Gentiles who receive the faith of Jesus become as far as possible Jews in order to become Christians? Paul felt the problem vital, and determined to fight for the more liberal and spiritual principle. It was not a mere matter of removing a practical stumbling-block from the path of a Gentile convert: it was a question whether external rite or spiritual character should be considered basic in Christianity: whether the faith of Christ should have its essential sign in circumcision or in a "new creature." The inwardness of the gospel of Galilee was forcing the issue—not merely the exigences of Asia Minor missionary work.

The defence of the spiritual principle lifts Paul above his previous subordination. Barnabas is sympathetic, but Paul is the moving spirit, for the order of the two names changes. It is no longer Barnabas and Saul but Paul and Barnabas! (Acts xv. 1, 2). After fighting the Jewish externalists at Antioch, Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by others, carry the case to Jerusalem. This incident is one of the landmarks of the apostle's career: he mentions it in Galatians as the first great event after his conversion—"Then after the space of fourteen years, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus with me" (this seems to be a reference to the Council visit described in Acts xv., although this identification is questioned by some modern scholars).

Acts suggests a hesitancy on the part of the Jerusalem Christians to approve the liberal and spiritual missionary policy of Paul and Barnabas, a hesitancy largely overcome by the speeches of Peter and James, who incline the assembly to what, after all, is more or less a compromise. Circumcision is not insisted upon, but Gentile converts must abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood and from things strangled: there must be "a wall, separating the life of the Church from Gentile life."

V

The Fresh Situation: New Independence of Paul

(*a*) The decision was in general favourable to the missionaries to the Gentiles, but the conservative atmosphere of the Jerusalem circle, the struggle to wring from the Judean Church the permission for even half-measures of liberal and spiritual policy, would create or deepen in Paul's mind the impression that he must not look to Jerusalem, or to the reputed leaders for the clearest expression of the genius of Christianity. Despite the half-way friendliness of the Jerusalem Council towards Paul and Barnabas, the experience would give rise in the apostle's soul to a feeling of spiritual alienation: there seemed little real sympathy and appreciation of the inwardness of the new movement: there would be born a sense, which other events were soon to develop, that Paul must strike out more boldly on his own lines, if he would unfold the spiritual implications of this new faith in the world. Christianity would never come to its own, if it had to wait on the Jerusalem leaders!

(*b*) On the other hand, there had been at the Council a general recognition of Paul's work. "They saw," says Paul in Galatians, "that I had been entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the gospel of the circumcision." This recognition would probably encourage Paul to work out his own position more freely than before. Something of status and independent authority had been accorded him, which, despite his repudiation of Church authority in the Galatian letter, would, as human nature is constituted, encourage a confidence to work out his fuller and more independent position.

(*c*) We may conceive that this independence would be furthered by the breaking off of the old relations with Barnabas. The next journey was taken without

him because, says Acts, of the dispute occasioned by Paul's refusal to have John Mark as a travelling companion after the experience on the last excursion. Gal. ii. 13—"Even Barnabas was carried away by the dissimulation" (of those who came from James)—suggests that Barnabas was lukewarm concerning the spiritual liberalism which to Paul was growing more and more vital. Silas was the new comrade: his position was that of a subordinate, and Paul would no longer feel the restraint of the senior and more conservative Barnabas.

VI

Thus opens a new period in the apostle's ministry. We come to the most interesting and best illumined years of Paul's life. For the period of the next ten years, the history in Acts is comparatively full and detailed. It was the period of the writing of the great epistles. Hitherto Paul's journeys had been comparatively modest—just around the seaboard of Palestine and Asia Minor. The history of the following few years reveals far more ambitious enterprises of travel. Europe is reached: Athens visited: Corinth, Ephesus, Rome: and even a journey to Spain is anticipated.

There are reasons to suppose that these years saw a corresponding daring in Paul's thought: that hitherto he had been sharing more or less the views of the earlier New Testament school of thought, represented by the Synoptics, the Epistle of James, the Book of Revelation, the early speeches in Acts, and that he had not yet advanced to that distinctively Pauline message which we find in Romans, Galatians, Corinthians and Colossians. This theological advance was now to be made.

Paul and Silas visit the now familiar field of Southern Galatia, and find a new helper and travelling companion, Timothy, at Lystra. It is somewhat note-

worthy that Paul causes Timothy to be circumcised. The apostle did not always insist on claiming the full Christian liberty. "All things were lawful, but all things were not expedient." We must regard Paul's action as due to the consideration of expediency under special circumstances. "Paul has a Jew as his associate, and he looks forward to standing in many a synagogue. This he could not do with a man in his company who was known to be the son of a heathen father and himself uncircumcised. This would have scandalized the Jew wherever he went, and Paul could not afford to do so" (Allan Menzies).

At Troas, the missionaries meet Luke, the Gentile physician, the one who should write the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, for at this point a "we-section" begins, and continues until the travellers reach Philippi. Here Paul and Silas experience the Philippian gaol and are sent away to Thessalonica, and the historian's account drops into the third person—"they." The work in Macedonia met with varying fortunes, but a group of churches was formed of whose faithfulness, affection and generosity, Paul always spoke with appreciation and gratitude. Paul soon found himself at Athens and we have an account of Paul's Areopagus speech.

This speech is more Hellenistic in tone than anything we find elsewhere in Acts. There is the emphasis already familiar from the accounts of the earlier speeches of Acts, upon the Messiahship of Jesus, the Resurrection and the Second Advent. But new elements appear—"Stoic notions that God is not in need of anything, that God is not to be worshipped in the way of sacrifice, that God's goodness and care of men are evident in the works of creation, in the provision made to supply the wants of His creatures, and in His creation of man with such a nature that he should feel constrained to seek after his Maker." E. Norden ("Agnostos Theos," Leipzig, 1913) contends that

the speech to the Areopagus is an address such as was customary in that age in the mouth of the missionary of monotheism, whether Jew, Greek or Christian, and quotes parallels from Apollonius, Poimandres, the Odes of Solomon, the preaching of Peter and the preaching of Barnabas.*

But we may believe that Luke, who was Paul's travelling companion before and after this event, would not have credited Paul with such sentiments, had he not known that they represented his thought, and were appropriate, not only to the situation but to the figure in whose mouth they are placed. We may believe that the seeds of Stoic ideas, sown in the far-off days of Tarsus, were beginning to germinate, and to affect the apostle's mental outlook and the form of his message. Paul is beginning, not only to have interest in the Gentiles, but to think Gentile thoughts and to incorporate Hellenistic ideas in his interpretation of religion. This manifestation of open-mindedness to Gentile conceptions is interesting in view of the fuller version of Paul's teaching in the greater epistles of the second group, and in the even more striking epistle to the Colossians.

VII

The Question of Paul's Earlier Teaching

What indications have we of the nature of Paul's thought and preaching up to the end of the writing of the Thessalonian epistles? Unfortunately we have no extant epistles earlier than these. The evidence then falls under these three heads: (*a*) The Acts of the Apostles, (*b*) the Epistles to the Thessalonians, (*c*) references in the autobiographical section of the

* Harnack ("Ist der Rede des Paulus in Athen ein ursprünglichen Bestandteil der Apostelgeschichte") challenges Norden's conclusions, and Ed. Meyer ("Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums," vol. iii., pp. 91-106) defends the substantial genuineness of the Areopagus speech.

Epistle to the Galatians, to the nature of the earlier teaching.

Much of this evidence would be inconclusive if it stood by itself. We are not dealing with full theological expositions, but with brief accounts of teaching delivered to audiences for whom very sectional and elementary doctrine would be most appropriate, or with letters of an obviously casual and scanty nature. Still as far as this evidence, slender, imperfect and conjectural as it is, goes, it supports the theory based on these more general grounds. (*a*) At some period between the death of Jesus and the writing of the second group of Pauline epistles, there had been a striking development of Christian theology, a movement from the first to a second version of Christian thought (see p. 45): (*b*) It is highly probable for reasons of time and personality that this development was chiefly due to Paul himself. His originality, independence, progressiveness, prominence, mark him as the most probable pioneering figure to carry forward such a development, or to gather together the work of others in such a process: (*c*) As we shall note presently, there were special circumstances between the writing of the first and second groups of epistles, which would make this a highly probable date for such a development.

VIII

The Acts of the Apostles

The speech attributed to Paul at Pisidian Antioch by the author of Acts, might well have been delivered by any of the other early preachers. There is the usual historical review, emphasis upon the fulfilment of prophecy, upon Davidic Messiahship, and upon the Resurrection as a credential sign. Verses 38 and 39 at first sight suggest Paul's developed doctrine of salvation by faith, but the passage indicates justification

following belief in a proclamation rather than the "unio mystica" of "faith," found in the developed scheme of Pauline soteriology. McGiffert claims that Paul's conception of justification falls below his characteristic and controlling idea of it. The speeches at Lystra and Athens show Paul's leaning towards Stoic philosophy, but they give no hint of a Logos Christology, nor of salvation by union with a risen Christ.

We might have argued more confidently that the primitiveness of the Pauline theology in the early chapters of Acts was simply due to Luke's precision as a historian, but for *the fact that in the later section of his work, covering that very period during which those epistles teaching a mystical faith in a Logos Christ were being written, the Paul presented by the historian of Acts gives in the supposed Pauline speeches no suggestion of such developed doctrine.* Although Luke was a personal companion of the apostle during parts of this period, and must have been familiar with the doctrines found in the major Pauline epistles, we should never have suspected that Paul was a preacher of such doctrines, from the description of him and his teaching in Acts. If these developed features were ignored in the later chapters of Luke's history, may they not also have been present in Paul's teaching from the first, in spite of the contrary impressions produced by the reading of the early chapters in Acts?

Another line of argument, however, suggests that the primitiveness of Paul's early preaching, as presented in Acts, is substantially true to the facts of history. Naturally there is something more than a historical interest in all the narratives of the New Testament. There is with each writer a theological "tendency." The writer's own ideas lie behind the story, and can be discovered by noticing the way he tells his tale. We read the mind of "Matthew" by the characteristic presentation of his writing. We argue that he is a Jew, deeply interested in Messianic identifications

from Old Testament prophecy, etc. We claim similarly that we can read the mind of Luke, his interests, his personal beliefs, by the way he tells his story of the life of our Lord, and the history of the early Church. This body of personal belief naturally determines his principle of selection. It explains his insertions and omissions. He is not concerned in setting forth and advertising doctrines which have not appealed to him. *The theology appearing from first to last in the Book of Acts seems to be the personal faith of the writer—a settled body of doctrine, which he desires the world to learn and understand.*

For some reason or other, Luke throughout held to the "first version" of Christian thought. If Paul's developed views and emphasis in the epistolary period after the writing of the Thessalonian epistles had been shared by Luke, we should have expected indications of them in the treatment of his subject, both in the Third Gospel and in the Acts. Especially should we expect to find references to such teaching in the narrative of Paul's later ministry. The Third Gospel was written by Luke after the period of the second and third Pauline groups, but here again there is no suggestion of later Paulinism. There is indeed some emphasis on "faith" in the sense in which it is used in the early chapters of Acts—namely, intellectual acceptance; there is stress on the grace of God, on the work of the Holy Spirit, on the universality of the gospel—features which have led to this Third Gospel being described as Pauline, but these ideas, while similar to the Paulinism of Acts, have only partial or superficial resemblances to the Paulinism of the second and third groups of epistles. There is marked contrast between the theological background of Luke's Gospel and that of the Fourth Gospel, which is the work of a developed Paulinist.

IX

Luke a Convert of Paul in the Earlier Period?

When and whence then did Luke derive that personal faith which comes to govern the writings of the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts? We look for light on the personal history of Luke to the "we-sections" of the Acts of the Apostles. The first conspicuous "we-section" of Acts begins at the point when Paul passes over into Europe. At that time Luke is identified with the Christians, but his actual conversion may belong to an earlier date. If not, we most naturally attribute his conversion to Paul's preaching at Troas.

There may be two earlier "we-sections," but even if they should be genuine, they suggest the same conclusion that Luke was a convert of Paul.

(*a*) The Western texts of Acts xi. 28, supply the clause "And when we were assembled together." If this clause be genuine, it indicates that Luke was among the company who heard the preaching of Agabus at Syrian Antioch. But this incident had been preceded by a period in which Barnabas and *Saul* had been active. These two preachers had wrought for a whole year in a church largely consisting of Gentiles. If Luke were one of these, we should naturally assume that Barnabas and Saul (Paul) were the moulders of Luke's idea of Christianity.

(*b*) The second of the suggested "we-passages" (Acts xiv. 21, 22), is connected with Pisidian Antioch. "They (Barnabas and *Paul*) returned to Lystra and Iconium and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples and exhorting them (? the word 'them' is not warranted by the Greek . . . from the context we ought to supply 'us') to continue in the faith, and that through many tribulations we must enter the Kingdom of God." . . . "The address at Antioch (Acts xiii.) is the longest report of any speech by Paul. The only other to compare with it is that before Festus

which certainly was heard by Luke. . . . Since neither the occasion nor the town, nor the speech, nor the speaker will account for the lengthy report, must we not suppose some reason personal to the reporter ?" (Dr. Whitely, *Expos. Times*, vol. xxi., p. 164). One also notices a tradition that Luke lived in the early days of the gospel in Paul's district of Syrian Antioch ("Century Bible," Acts, p. 245). All the indications, clear and vague, suggest that Luke was a convert of St. Paul. There are no indications of the contact of Luke with the Jerusalem apostles. Peter never enters a Lucan "we-section." Luke was a Gentile, and Paul was an apostle of the Gentiles, and his early centre of preaching was a district with which Luke seems to have been associated, Asia Minor. On the second missionary journey Luke appears as Paul's companion, sharing the dangers of a difficult ministry.

Does it not seem, then, that from *Paul* the Gentile historian "learned Christ," and *obtained that version of Christian doctrine which governs his attitude in the writing of his two great works ?* May we not understand the divergences between the theology of Acts and that of the major Pauline epistles by supposing that the *physician disciple retained the simple faith of his conversion while his teacher, restless, eclectic, seeking for profounder meanings, travelled beyond it.* It is easier to suppose that Paul's thought grew rather than that Luke's thought shrank, after his conversion.

It may of course be contended that Luke for temperamental or other reasons did not from the first appreciate certain features of Paul's developed thought, and therefore ignored them, while still finding sufficient in the apostle's personality and general preaching to attract him to Christianity. This will naturally be the explanation offered by those who believe that Pauline development was early. This is not impossible, but the supposition that we have put forward seems more natural, especially since the Thessalonian letters,

unlike those that followed, reveal that general background found in the Third Gospel and in Acts. We can more readily understand the friendship of Luke for Paul continuing for old association's sake when there had come to be less doctrinal sympathy between the two, than that Luke should have been drawn to Paul in the first instance by a preaching, the emphasis of which did not appeal to him.

X

The Epistles to the Thessalonians

These letters are the earliest Pauline writings (this claim has been made for the Epistle to the Galatians, but the balance of critical opinion seems against this), and presumably were written in the earlier months of the Corinthian ministry to a church apparently mainly Gentile. Despite this, these epistles suggest nothing beyond the "first version" of Christian thought. Their main doctrine of the Parousia is Judean, and there is no trace of any distinctive Alexandrian doctrine. It can of course be argued that the absence of certain theological traits emphasized in certain later epistles, is to be accounted for, not by Paul's development at this period, but by the lack of any necessity to express the developed doctrines. Such a claim may neither be proved nor denied. But at any rate, there is nothing in the contents of the epistles to stand in the way of the theory that the Alexandrian development in Paul's thought occurred at a date later than that of the writing of these earlier epistles.

XI

References in the Epistle to the Galatians to Earlier Teaching

(*a*) In the autobiography of the Galatian epistle, Paul claims that immediately after his conversion, he did not confer with flesh and blood but received his

message directly from the Lord. But this statement neither indicates that his full message had been gained immediately after his conversion and that no further change had taken place, nor even that Paul could not have preached very much as the other apostles did, as Acts suggests. Paul is not concerned to show that his gospel had been different from that of the other apostles, but that it had come to him *by direct revelation, and not by external authority. This is a common claim of the religious mystic, but as Dr. Rufus Jones points out, such "revelations," when examined, invariably reveal a historic background in the experience of the mystic.* The contents of the "revelation" are found to have a terrestrial origin and stimulus. We cannot help relating Paul's early teaching with the general teaching of the primitive Church. Even if Paul had no close dealings with the actual apostles, he must surely have been acquainted with the common teaching traditions of the early Church. We can hardly believe that Paul knew nothing of the faith of the community of which he once made havoc—still less can we believe that he knew nothing of the prevalent interpretation of the faith to which he had become converted!

(*b*) The references of the Galatian letter to Paul's earlier teaching do not necessarily imply a developed stage of mystic or Alexandrian theology at the time of the founding of the Galatian churches (iii. 2), nor of the collision of Paul and Peter at Antioch (ii. 1). The earlier version had set forth a crucified Christ (Acts ii. 23; iii. 18), and had emphasized "faith" as a factor, bringing about the baptism of the Spirit, and the working of physical and moral marvels, thus doing what the law could not do (Gal. iii. 2, 5, 6). We may even regard Paul in the Galatian letter, as filling in the slightly weighted terms of the early Acts period with the fuller meaning which they have now come to have for him.

Paul's reply to Peter at Antioch at first sight presents

a more serious difficulty. No clearer statement of Paul's later mystic "faith" doctrine can be found than in Gal. ii. 15-21, which seems to be part of a historical answer to Peter, falling within the earlier period. But is the whole section to be regarded as a historical answer—is the actual reply to Peter intended to extend beyond verse 14? We are dealing with a loosely-constructed, passionate piece of writing. There is no definite conclusion to the Antiochene incident. The later verses may be taken as comment, in the light of Paul's theological belief at the time of writing the epistle, upon the problem raised by Peter's attitude at Antioch. Paul is no longer speaking to Peter, but dealing with Peter's problem before his Galatian readers.

XII

Paul's General Teaching in the Earlier Period

We may now summarize what we may suppose was the general teaching of Paul up to a date in the ministry of Paul at Ephesus. Jesus is Jewish Messiah, a prophet of the seed of David (Acts xiii. 23), announced by the Old Testament prophets (xiii. 27); the Son of God whom "He raised from the dead" (1 Thess. i. 10). The subordination to the agency of the Father implied in this phrase suggests that the Petrine description in Adoptionist vein in Acts ii. would also represent Paul's Christology at this period—"Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto you by mighty works, wonders and signs, whom lawless men did crucify and slay, whom God raised up. God hath made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified." After His death, He assumes other features. He becomes a heavenly being sitting at the right hand of God, witnessing His servants and protecting them. Finally He will return in glory to the earth, bring to life the dead, overthrow Anti-Christ, judge the world, destroy

the wicked and reward the faithful with everlasting life. This apocalyptic event, although not immediate, is near at hand, and is expected within the lifetime of the apostle. Second Adventism we may regard as only another form of the Messianic expectation. The popular conception of the coming Messiah had taken apparently two forms. In the earliest thought, the Messiah was to be a human Deliverer of Israel, a second David, a warrior or a prophet, or both. After the contact with Persia, the conception of the Messiah became rather that of a supernatural Deliverer, coming on the clouds, raising the dead and establishing a Millennium. The latter idea was hardly consistent with the former, but could not the double expectation be fulfilled *at different times?* Jewish Christians, familiar with the double tradition, naturally urged that since Jesus had come only as the human Messiah, He must come again in glory to fulfil the apocalyptic expectation. The first coming was in humble, human form with none of the dramatic consequences expected. Faith in the open Messianic deliverance and apocalyptic appearance could only be restored and maintained by the hope of a *Second* Coming.

The salvation emphasized is twofold: one of deliverance from sin, associated with the function of Jesus as prophet: the other the apocalyptic transformation of the world by the Second Coming of Christ. The former is a spiritual and ethical process. Jesus has been "exalted to be a Prince and Saviour for to give repentance and remission of sins," that is, as a prophet leading the people to repent, and thus, according to Old Testament conceptions, to bring about the forgiveness of their transgressions. Even the baptism preached by John was one of repentance "unto the remission of sins." A further theory must have begun to form at an early date—the idea that there was some propitiatory value in the death of Jesus. The ignominious death of Christ as if He were under a

curse, and the influence of the Servant Passage (Is. liii.), (at first probably used as a prophetic identification mark of the Messiah by the early Church, though not referred to by Paul in his extant writings)—the theory that had prevailed from the time of the Exile that there was a propitiatory value in the sufferings of the righteous, would probably lead to some early doctrine of a general undefined kind that the death of Jesus had a propitiatory value. How far this doctrine had been carried by Paul in the period up to the Corinthian ministry, it is not easy for us to say. In 1 Thess. v. 9, 10, Paul speaks of "our Lord Jesus Christ, *who died for us*, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with Him."

It is noteworthy how prominent a place the Resurrection had in all this early teaching. It is taken as a credential sign of the Messiahship, the fulfilment of prophecy (Acts ii. 31), and a sign of God's approval and adoption. But the doctrine of Salvation through a mystic Death and Resurrection, such as we find later in Paulinism, is as yet unstated. We can see, however, how naturally such a theory would grow from the theological material lying in the "first version," and would seem to throw light on vague and isolated elements found in the thought of the earlier period.

XIII

We are not justified in reading into the phrases of a more primitive theology the ideas which later gathered around the theological terms. The earliest stage of thought and preaching in the New Testament Church apparently gathered about Messiahship. Miracles, prophecy, salvation, faith, Second Adventism, all derived their significance from this central interest. But the terms and conceptions brought into Christianity by this chief interest of Messiahship began to invite further explanation and interpretation in their own rights, and to

demand their place within a more or less consistent system of Christian doctrine. But this was a lengthy and complicated process, and it is therefore not justifiable to argue from the presence of a familiar term drawn into the Messianic apologetic, that the significance of it is that which we find later in an interpretative and systematic stage: or that fully developed doctrines are indicated by the early occurrence of terms afterwards associated with developed doctrines. The "faith" which we find in the early speeches of Acts is not necessarily the "faith" of the Epistle to the Romans. The Resurrection stressed in the Petrine speeches, and probably as interpreted in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, need not convey the "Mystery" significance apparently attached to it in the second group of Pauline epistles. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were features of the life of the churches from the beginning; but the early references to these customs do not imply a recognition from the first of those mystic and sacramental theories which are found in the Roman and Corinthian letters. Doctrines and rites have histories of growth, and the same terms may at different stages convey very different meanings, and be associated with very different interpretations.

This fact complicates very seriously our study of the problem of Pauline development. We may, however, reasonably make use of two principles—(*a*) that the simplest interpretation be placed upon a passage unless it occurs chronologically later than a passage in which an interpretation of a more developed nature is explicitly stated: (*b*) that the general "mental atmosphere" of a writing be taken to explain a passage found in it. Thus 1 Thess. iv. 14—"For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with Him," taken by itself most naturally suggests that the power of God "who raised His Son from the dead" (i. 10) will operate also in the case of others who have fallen asleep,

in accordance with the apocalyptic tradition of the resurrection of the saints at the coming of the Son of Man (*cf.* Dan. xii. 2). In the Pauline writings of a later period the mystic assimilative theories of the Mysteries are found: union with a mystic Christ who died and rose, gives to the believer a power of resurrection in virtue of the Lord's triumph over the evil principalities and powers. This mystic theory runs more or less clearly through the thought of the second group of epistles. If the Thessalonian reference had occurred in the second group or later, we might have attached the mystic, assimilative significance to it. But as it is, it is more natural to take it in the simpler way, explainable by the apocalyptic interest which runs throughout the Thessalonian epistles, and with the Resurrection of Christ, regarded as Peter in the "first version" would have regarded it, namely as a sign of the power and working of God (Acts ii. 22-24).

XIV

Spiritual Intuition and Apocalyptic

Second Adventism is prominent in the earlier version of New Testament thought: it is specially conspicuous in the Thessalonian letters. We have already indicated the source of the conception in Persian thought, coming through Judean channels in the Book of Daniel, the Similitudes of Enoch and similar Palestinian works. The further sources lie in the mythologies of dim ages. The Thessalonian picture of Anti-Christ has parallels in the traditions of Belial and the dragon (see Art. "Anti-Christ," Bousset, *Ency. Bibl.*). Paul had entered into a strange Jewish heritage of thought, which he seems to have taken seriously in part: and which in part he uses to clothe his own experiences of soul. He seems to treat these contemporary traditions pretty much as a modern man would treat a scientific belief. The apostle seriously expects a literal breaking of the

sky and the appearance of Christ in the heavens. It is no fancy, allegory, poetic symbol. But on the other hand, every such doctrine gathers around an intuition of soul, or an element of moral experience. *These fantastic figures and dramas have a primary spiritual origin as well as a secondary traditional ancestry.* Our really important question is how Paul came to these intuitions of soul, and these psychological experiences which lie beneath the strange contemporary forms which he uses.

XV

The Spiritual Factor of the Teaching of our Lord

And here we come back to that body of spiritual and ethical doctrine which is found in the teaching and life and death of Jesus of Nazareth. That which explains Paul's own conversion and change of life, explains also the fundamental inspiration of his writing. Paul had been led to a living sense of God and to the great hopes of the soul that rise therefrom: he became conscious of a new sense of the world, of a moral struggle between good and evil: with this came the saint's conviction that "right is right since God is God, and right the day must win"; a new sense of the value of the soul, God's care for it and the eternal destiny—these were the intuitions around which the Thessalonian doctrines—and indeed all the other doctrines of later Paulinism as well—formed. When the soul is in harmony with the highest, it enters into the revelation of the highest: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." A soul which has "found itself" becomes rich in its intuitions of God, Immortality, the Cosmic Hope. It becomes sensitive to good and evil and their conflict. It finds a personal experience of salvation, which it will express as it can in forms often imperfect and crude. It will discover the Divine in

itself, and will realize the Divine in Jesus from the Divine in itself. Deep will answer to deep. To express this discovery of the Divine in Jesus, it will weave its many theories, in themselves less important than the fact towards which they point.

In short, *the process of faith does not begin with a theology, but with a way of life.* The way of life will open out certain fundamental intuitions of the spiritual nature, and these in turn give rise to doctrine, much of it fantastic, crude, fallible, changing. Nevertheless, such doctrine, despite fallibilities, changes and collapses, bears witness to the faith and hope and love of the soul: and this spiritual wealth of experience follows the way of life taught by Jesus of Nazareth. This is the order of the process, and when once it is recognized, the problems of criticism lose their menace: the New Testament becomes an Eternal Gospel for us again, and we find in Jesus the Truth and the Life, because in the first instance He is the Way.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOGOS AND THE MYSTERIES

Suggested date of Paulinism as a distinctive theological system—Circumstances favourable for development—Paul's sense of independence—Contact with the Asiarchs—Meeting with Apollos—Suggested Hellenistic influence through Apollos—Alexandrian thought—Philo—(*a*) Rise of the Logos doctrine—The figure of "Wisdom" in Jewish writings—Double mediatorship in Philo: philosophical and polytheistic—The inward mystic experience and the outward deity—the deuteros theos—The Logos Christ in Paul and the Fourth Evangelist—Significance of the identification of the Logos and Christ—Roots of the Arian controversy in the illogical eclecticism of Alexandrian thought—The identification, a witness to the impression of our Lord's moral supremacy—An eternal truth in the Logos-Christ conception—(*b*) The Mysteries—Our scanty data—The vegetation god who died and rose again—Osiris, Adonis, Attis—The sacramental meal—The Taurobolium—Mithra—The Mithraic Love Feasts—Commemorative element—Mithraic relations with supreme Deity; his mediatorship—Mithraic Parousia—Difficulty of dates, yet Mithraic customs probably indicate a stock of common beliefs during the formative age of Christian thought—The Hermetic literature—The Eleusinian Mysteries—Dionysiac and Orphic Mysteries—Parallels in Christian Sacramentalism—Schweitzer's claim that the Fourth Evangelist was influenced, but not Paul—Consideration of Anrich's criticism that Paul would not be likely to adopt pagan ideas and customs—The transformation of the Mystery ideas in their "baptism into Christianity"—In our desire to avoid a gap between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity, we must not make the gap too wide between it and later Hellenistic Christianity—But with Paul the foundation still remains Jesus Christ.

I

Birth of Paulinism as a Distinctive Theological System

Paul's lengthy stay at Ephesus on his third missionary journey was, we conceive, a period of momentous development for his thought. We suggest that

Paulinism as a distinctive system was born then. Christianity passed from the first to the second version. The germs of the later great doctrines were already to be found in Paul's preaching, but fresh influences were necessary to create a system of thought and interpretation concerning ideas, chiefly brought together by Messianic apologetic.

More or less latent in Paul's mind were many elements which had been deposited since his boyhood days in Tarsus, and the College period in Jerusalem: recollections of the Anatolian "Mysteries" with their ideas of assimilation and mystic union with the god who had died and risen again and thereby had brought salvation to those united with him: fragments of Stoic teaching, revived by a Grecian residence: the teaching in Gamaliel's college of the Jewish-Hellenistic books, for example, the "Wisdom of Solomon" with its Wisdom or Logos conception. Here were ideas ready to be infused into a new amalgam, when some sufficiently stimulating set of circumstances should form.

Special conditions in Paul's career at this time were favourable to such a development. The old trouble concerning the liberalism of Christianity had become acute again: further controversy had stimulated Paul's sense of independence, and had sent him down again to the fundamentals of spiritual experience. The encounter at Antioch with Cephas (Gal. ii. 11) may be dated a few months before Paul's arrival at Ephesus. The fickle behaviour of the Galatian churches, their doubtfulness concerning Paul's apostolic standing, their turning again to mean and beggarly elements of a Judaistic type of Christianity, had roused Paul to a passionate emphasis upon the freedom of the spirit. The authority of tradition weighed lightly upon him at this crisis. He claimed the right to think freshly and freely. He challenged the bondage of narrow Judaism. It was a situation in

which he might naturally turn to new worlds for their contributions to a free, living, and progressive gospel.

The Asiarchs

Again, it was a period when events threw Paul into a certain sympathetic contact with Gentile thinkers. The account of Paul's experience on Mars Hill, given in Acts, suggests that at that time the apostle was unable to make much appeal to Hellenistic intellectualists. To them he was a "babbler." So unappreciative were they, that the sojourn at Athens lasted but a short time—perhaps only a few days. At Ephesus, however, there was a contrast of experience. For two years Paul reasoned daily with Gentiles in the Ephesian school of Tyrannus (Acts xix. 9). He gained friends among the Asiarchs (verse 31)—"high priests of Asia, the heads of the Imperial politico-religious organization of the province"—so Ramsay describes them in "Paul the Traveller" (p. 218). "Probably they themselves had held priesthoods of local cults before becoming Asiarchs" (Woodhouse, "Ephesus," *Ency. Bibl.*). The riot towards the end of Paul's Ephesian stay was instigated not by the priests but by the idol-makers. The Asiarchs sought to protect Paul. This sympathetic contact with the thoughtful and cultured folk in this religious centre of Asia Minor may well have led to a more favourable attitude on the part of St. Paul towards the Gentile attempts to seek the God in whom all live and move and have their being. It is tempting to suppose that Paul gained, through his friendship with these Anatolian priests, a deeper appreciation of the spiritual significance and values of their Mystery ritual.*

* Sir William Ramsay (Hist. Com. on Gal. 193-6) points out that Jews had a more sympathetic attitude to Phrygians than to Greeks. The worship of the Phrygian Sabazius had actually been blended with that of the O.T. Jahweh in a cult possessing Mysteries like those of Attis.

Further, we may conjecture that these happy relations between Paul and the Gentile religious thinkers at Ephesus may have been due in part to a changed mind and spirit in the apostle even since the Athens days. He had lived in a Greek centre—Corinth—for eighteen months, and we may suppose that in this period he had become more "acclimatized" to Hellenistic thought, and more sympathetic to the religious ideas of the Gentile world.

II

Suggested Influence of Apollos

But we are inclined to attach major importance to Paul's meeting at Ephesus with Apollos—the Christian Jew of Alexandria (Acts xviii. 24).* His version of Christianity, as he declared it in the synagogue, was not that of Paul, since Paul's friends and disciples Aquila and Priscilla found need "privately to expound the way of God more carefully to him" (verse 26). The most natural explanation of the difference between the preaching of Apollos and that of the Apostolic Church and of Paul himself at this period, is that the former had developed in Alexandria and had the marks of Alexandrian thought upon it. Apollos seems to have been willing to learn from the disciples of Paul, and it would have been somewhat unreasonable if in his friendly and sympathetic contact with Aquila and Priscilla, and later with Paul himself, Apollos had not *imparted* as well as *received* instruction. Luke does not seem to have been in sympathy with Alexandrianism; we can therefore understand why he gives no hint of Paul's indebtedness to Apollos, and

* "By way of conjecture Pfleiderer several times advances the suggestion that Apollos the Alexandrian may have introduced the apostle to Alexandrian Platonism."—Schweitzer, "Paul and His Interpreters," p. 67. See also Pfleiderer's "Primitive Christianity," vol. i., p. 145.

so clearly subordinates Apollos to Paul. In the Corinthian letter, Apollos appears a greater and more independent figure than in Acts, for after this "instruction" by Aquila and Priscilla in the faith of Paul, Apollos passes from Ephesus to Corinth, and an Apollos party as distinct from a Paul party arises in the Corinthian Church, somewhat surprisingly if Apollos had completely abandoned his own Alexandrian version of Christianity in favour of Paul's.

On the other hand, since there was considerable common ground shared by the two preachers in their central themes, it was natural that there should be an exchange and mutual supplementing of ideas in the later sympathetic contact of the two men. *It is much easier to understand the situation at Corinth, if we may believe that Paul's own thought had developed in an Alexandrian direction, after meeting with Apollos at Ephesus.* An Apollos party, in distinction from a Paul party, had sprung up in the Corinthian Church. But at the time of writing the First Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul suggests no serious doctrinal differences between himself and Apollos. The latter is his fellow workman (1 Cor. iii. 9), watering where he has planted (verse 5), and one to be regarded as part of the valuable possessions of the believer (verse 22). Why then had those acrimonious "divisions of Christ" arisen between the followers of Paul and the followers of Apollos at Corinth? The situation becomes more intelligible if we may think of the Corinthian Church *comparing the earlier teaching of Paul*, the preaching they had heard at the founding of their church, with that of an Alexandrian teacher, presenting a new Alexandrian version of Christianity. But now at the time of writing the Corinthian letter, after his personal contact with Apollos, Paul himself has felt the appeal of the Alexandrian thought, and can speak of it as supplementing his own. In the Corinthian letter itself and in the later epistles, his own teaching has

marked Alexandrian features, of which there are no indications in the Acts or in the Thessalonian epistles.

It is of course necessary for our argument that we should ask whether the differences at Corinth arose on theological grounds. The Corinthians were addicted, like the inhabitants of other Greek cities, to split into factions over rival personalities, political leaders, prize-fighters, chariot races, etc. But in favour of believing that the differences were in part doctrinal is the fact that Paul finds it necessary to defend himself against the charge that " wisdom " is absent from his teaching. 1 Cor. i.; ii. 1.* This suggests that " wisdom " was characteristic of one of the other parties in the Christian Church at Corinth (i. 12). Paul hints in i. 18 *ff.*, that this wisdom is a " wisdom of the world," apparently an intellectualism of a philosophic kind, but in the following chapter there are hints that it has a gnostic character, for Paul attempts to demonstrate in his own teaching a parallel " wisdom " significantly couched in gnostic terms (ii. 6 *ff.*), although the ideas are spiritualized. Had Paul then in mind a rival " wisdom " with both philosophic and theosophic features ? The Corinthian teachers declaring this, could hardly have been the Cephas or the " Christ "-party, but it is what we might expect from Alexandrian Apollos. It is Apollos who seems indicated in Paul's words, " And I, brethren, when I came unto you with excellency of word or of wisdom, proclaiming unto you the mystery of God " (ii. 1). (κἀγώ—" and I " is emphatic. Paul contrasts himself with another. Is it even possible that the " word " bore the technical Alexandrian sense of the Logos ?)

* It is interesting to note that Paul *suggests a reason for not having declared to the Corinthians, this " wisdom " which he himself* (now) *holds.* They were not ready for it ! Possibly not—but is this the full reason ? Had he himself developed this theosophic *form* of Christianity when he preached to them before his contact with Apollos ?

It may be objected that it was highly improbable that Apollos, whose knowledge of Christianity was so immature that Priscilla and Aquila found need to expound the way of God more carefully to him (Acts xviii. 26), and who knew only the baptism of John (verse 25), could have constructed an advanced Christian theology in Alexandria—a theology which would have made a decisive difference to Paul. But in 1 Cor. Apollos is set side by side with Peter and Paul himself, as a church leader, a founder of a party—and significantly respected by Paul! The "careful instruction" of Apollos by Priscilla and Aquila must not be taken to imply serious Christian immaturity in Apollos! He is described even by Luke as "a learned man, mighty in the Scriptures, speaking and teaching carefully the things concerning Jesus" (verse 25). Apollos knows only "the baptism of John"—but this apparently signifies not Christian ignorance or undevelopment in doctrine, but an absence of ecstatic gifts* (*cf.* Acts i. 5—"John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days hence"). "John's baptism" is further defined in Acts xix. Twelve disciples knowing only John's baptism, do not know of the gift of the Holy Spirit. "And Paul said, John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying they should believe on Him which should come after him, that is, on Jesus." And when they heard this they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them and they *spake with tongues and prophesied* (verses 5, 6). There is nothing in this disability of Apollos "knowing only the baptism of John" inconsistent with his working out an elaborate *intellectual*

* Ed. Meyer ("Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums," p. 113) points out that Apollos was "fervent in the Spirit" (ζέων τῷ πνεύματι)—"danach muszte er also das πνευμα schon erhalten haben." But has πνευμα the significance of Holy Spirit here? Eng. R.V. (contrast A.V.) renders simply—"fervent in spirit" (Acts xviii. 25).

system along Alexandrian Logos lines, which might impress even Paul, if there had been some preparation of the mind of the latter in this direction!

III

Alexandrian Thought

Long before the birth of Christ there was in Alexandria a large colony of Jews who while remaining enthusiastic for the faith of their fathers, were nevertheless inclined to incorporate into their religious thought intellectual elements from the Gentile world around them. These Jews of the Dispersion so completely made Greek their language that it was necessary to translate the Old Testament Scriptures into that tongue. When religious and theological works came to be written, Greek ideas became grafted in upon the old Hebrew faith. Hellenism, resisted to the death on Palestinian soil in the Maccabean struggle against Antiochus Epiphanes, won a peaceful intellectual conquest in Alexandria. These books in Paul's day were studied even in Jerusalem. The stricter Rabbinical school of Shammai still resisted this foreign Modernism, but the followers of Hillel, Gamaliel's grandfather and predecessor, showed their liberalism and openmindedness by studying Jewish-Alexandrian works. Paul would read them in Gamaliel's school, and his acquaintance with, and use of the "Wisdom of Solomon," even if not conclusively established, has much support.

Philo

The tendency of combination reached its culmination in the Jewish Alexandrian philosopher, Philo, born twenty years before Christ, and therefore more or less a contemporary of Jesus and Paul. The main body of his literary work was in existence about A.D. 38, and in it Hebrew, Hellenistic and gnostic or theosophic

streams seem to have freely mingled. It is difficult to say where his Rabbinism ends and his Hellenism starts. "His position was that of the Egypto-Greek theocosmosophy as far as was practicable, compatibly with the Jewish Scriptures" (Flinders Petrie, "Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity"). He was ready to borrow from any other system which attracted him and his sense of logic was such as not to be inconvenient. Thus with him the method of allegorical interpretation was allowed to run to such extreme lengths. The difference between allegory and fact, person and personification, were frequently ignored. *The slightest point of contact between conceptions radically diverse, seemed to justify identification.* Thus "the Logoi—parts of the Reason which operates in the world—became identified with the Jewish angels, and the Greek daimons," the slight point of contact being that all these were regarded, although in quite different senses, as intermediaries between God and the human race.

IV

The Logos

For five hundred years before Christ, the early Greek speculators from Thales onward had been seeking the fundamental Reality (φύσις). It became felt that there must be something other than matter, water, mist or fire. There must be that which would mould the fundamental substance into its many forms, and constitute and maintain them. Until Aristotle's time the thought did not come into prominence that movement and constitution must arise from the inherent nature of the units making up the universe. It was natural that the aspects of constitution and motion should be regarded as further entities, although in some way they must still be composed of the basic "phusis." The name Word, or Logos, was given to this creative and controlling force and law; some reality, in a way

distinct from that which it created and controlled, and yet itself composed of the one universal substance. All things were created by the Logos; in it all things were held together. It was with the whole; it was part of the whole. The Logos became a mediator between the two worlds of matter and spirit, and was experienced in man's higher mental and spiritual life. These early thinkers were struggling with the age-long problems of the One and the Many; Matter and Law and Motion; the Body of the universe and its Soul. The Logos became personified, and identified with all kinds of secondary and mediating gods.

Wisdom Logos

The Logos figure appeared in the late pre-Christian Jewish literature, under the name—Wisdom. In Proverbs viii., "Wisdom" is made to cry—"The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning or ever the world was. Then I was with God as a master-workman." This section of Proverbs should probably be dated in the Greek period 300-250 B.C. The idea reappears in Ecclesiasticus, written in Hebrew but under Greek influence in the second century before Christ. "Wisdom" is represented as "an emanation from God and standing alongside of God" (Fairweather). In the Alexandrian "Wisdom of Solomon," with which it is probable that Paul was familiar, a work written possibly in the first century B.C. (Focke and E. Meyer), a supreme God is conceived "Sovereign Lord of All," yet "Wisdom" sits by Him on His throne, is the artificer of all things, and is identical with the Spirit of the Lord who binds all things together. "Wisdom" can be inwardly experienced: "from generation to generation passing into holy souls, she maketh men prophets and friends of God." There was thus preparation for the idea of a Logos Christ even in Jewish Scriptures, although it seems unlikely

that Paul would have created his doctrine from such scanty references, had his thought not been stimulated from some other source. But these Jewish references would be a factor in the acceptance of the new ideas. They provided sanction among the writings of a nation that possessed the "oracles of God," for ideas which Paul might otherwise have hesitated to build into his system.

Philonic Double Mediatorship

The particular exponent of the Logos Doctrine was Philo. Sometimes he treated it in a philosophical way, finding the Logos an inward mediating manifestation of God, realized by the pure in heart. We could not fully and directly know God—"The discrepancies of nature between an unchanging and infinitely perfect Deity and an imperfect changing world make it impossible that there should be direct contact." But we might come into some kind of relationship with Him through the mediating inward Logos.

Polytheism, however, had a cruder scheme of mediation. The universe was conceived upon the model of an earthly kingdom. The Supreme as a monarch must come into relationship with his subjects by means of officials of less exalted rank. Thus the inferior god in Persia, Mithra, must be mediator for the supreme Ahura Mazda. Judaism had come to place mediating spiritual powers between the earth and Jahweh. Mithra had his mediating Jewish counterparts in the apocalyptic Son of Man, or Michael, or Metatron, "the angel of God's face." (The Hermetic Perfect Sermon possibly expressing thought contemporary with or even earlier than Paul (see p. 119) tells how "the Lord and Maker of all, rightly called God, from himself made a second god, the Visible and Perceptible, whom he loved as his Son, and man was made to contemplate the Son.")

The two conceptions of mediatorship are combined

in Philo. The Logos is not only experienced in a man's higher nature, his holiest emotions, his mystic exaltation; the Logos is also personal, an angelic mediator, the deuteros theos, the second god, the creator of the world. "God as Shepherd and King, deputes his own Logos, his firstborn Son, to take charge of the sacred flock. He, contemplating the archetypal patterns, fashions the species." *The common feature of mediatorship led to a loose identification of these personal and non-personal conceptions; the illogical merging of a heavenly being and an inward experience.*

The Logos Christ in Paul and the Fourth Evangelist

The way was prepared by Alexandrian thought, whether Philo's own or not, for Paul and the Pauline Fourth Evangelist to make a similar identification. In Paul's second and third groups of epistles, a conception of Christ distinct from the human and even from the apocalyptic Messiah, is introduced. He has been the creator of the world. "In Him were all things created; He was before all things, and in Him all things hold together." Yet similar language used concerning the creative and sustaining power of God suggests that Christ is in some sense a hypostasis of the Father (*cf.* Col. i. 16 with Eph. iii. 9; iv. 6). Although His original status was equality with God (Phil. ii. 6), yet a certain subordination of the Son is implied, not merely during an earth phase, but at the end of the age; the Son is subjected to the Father, that God may be all in all (1 Cor. xv. 28). He serves as a mediator between God and man; God sends His Son into the world (Rom. viii. 22)—a certain distinction, therefore, is drawn between Christ and the Supreme—and yet He functions as the Supreme, besides whom for the strict monotheistic Jew there could be no other God (1 Cor. vii. 4). Paul's Christ, then, in the second version of

New Testament thought, has thus a peculiar relation to God. In some sense He is distinct from Him; in another sense He is an aspect of Him. It is the characteristic "Wisdom" or Logos relationship—"The Word was with God; the Word was God. All things were created by Him" (John i.).

"In Him was Life, and the life was the light of men"—this further statement of the Fourth Gospel prologue is also Pauline in idea. Christ is no longer merely an external figure, historical Messiah, leader, prophet, or apocalyptic heavenly being. He is a presence and power within human souls, so that one may come to say—"It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). "Christ in men is the hope of glory" (Col. i. 26). He becomes in some of His aspects and functions identical with the Holy Spirit. "The glorified Christ acts on men so entirely through the Spirit, and the Holy Spirit so perfectly imparts Christ's influence and makes Him present, that the two are practically identical" (Findlay). He has entered into historical relations with Israel in the past. In an allegorizing fashion which reminds us of Philo, Paul states that the spiritual rock which followed the host in the wilderness was none other than Christ (1 Cor. x. 14).

These are features of Paul's Christology which appear after his contact with the Alexandrian Apollos, but not, so far as we can trace, before that event, and they are features so similar to those of the Alexandrian Logos that we can hardly avoid the conclusion that this Alexandrian contact had much to do with stimulating this particular development of Pauline doctrine. The absence of the actual term Logos in Paul does not seem so important. If the first page of the Fourth Gospel had chanced to be torn off, we should have had the same kind of literary phenomenon there—the ideas without the technical term. And yet by the accidental survival of the first page of the Fourth Gospel, we know

that in this case the Logos was definitely in the writer's mind. Why may we not presuppose the same with Paul, despite the absence of the technical term, especially since Paul's writings were more casual and non-systematic than the Fourth Gospel? On the general question Dr. W. R. Inge remarks:

"In the New Testament the technical use of the term Logos is found in the Fourth Gospel (unless we should add 1 John i. *f.* and Rev. xix. 3) only. But it is important to observe that St. Paul, especially in his later epistles, gives us almost the whole of his Logos doctrine which we read in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. *The conception of Christ as a cosmic principle is even more emphasized in Colossians than in the gospel.* It does not seem that a candid criticism can deny that all the elements of a complete Logos theology are to be found in the Pauline epistles. Without assuming any direct influence of Philo which is perhaps improbable, it is unquestionable that the Jewish-Alexandrian Logos philosophy had a great and increasing influence upon St. Paul's doctrine of the person of Christ. In proportion as the apocalyptic Messianism which we found in Thessalonians lost its importance for him, he approximated more and more to the type of Christology which we associate with the name of St. John. It must not be supposed that this statement stands or falls with the authenticity of Colossians and Ephesians. The epistles to the Corinthians contain similar language."—Art. "Logos," *E.R.E.*

V

Significance of the Identification

Let us realize a significance of this identification whatever we may think of its intrinsic value. The Logos was the most impressive figure that had been conceived in contemporary history in the Hellenistic

world, just as the Messiah was the most exalted conception of the Jewish world. Jesus must have these greatest of names! Men having fallen under the spell of His grace and truth, felt that He was worthy to receive the most exalted titles known to them. It was a magnificent tribute that the greatest names of the world—Messiah, Man from Heaven, Logos—were used to convey some sense of the impression which Jesus had made upon the minds and souls of men.

We may take this identification in two ways. One was that taken by the Church during the first five or six centuries; an attempt was made to understand and accept the metaphysical meaning of the label itself. Thus there came the tremendous fight at Nicea. Athanasius emphasized the Greek philosophical elements—undoubtedly the most valuable side—that had gone to make up the Logos idea. Arius laid stress on the polytheistic element. Jesus was to him the *deuteros theos*, the second god. Christianity was in real danger of becoming a polytheistic system. There were both ideas in the Logos conception of Philo, Paul and the Fourth Evangelist, and the confusions of those centuries of metaphysical discussion, arose from this primary mixture of diverse ideas and *had its real source in the illogical eclecticism of Alexandrian thought.* The so-called Athanasian Creed could not be other than dogmatic, for its thesis was incapable of logical statement. It contains many broken aspects of profound metaphysical truth, but much of it can only be explained by going beyond the New Testament to Alexandria, and beyond Alexandria to the two diverse streams of immanental philosophy and polytheism, which through a common idea of mediatorship had found a confluence there.

The other and the truer way is, not to take the label as important in itself, but as expressing the tremendous moral and spiritual impression made by Jesus on His

contemporaries. From this we can state an argument which recovers the practical values of Athanasianism. We take the universe as the evolving expression of the meaning of God. He "sleeps in the stone, dreams in the animal, wakes in the man." The clearest expression of God whom no man hath seen at any time is to be seen in the supremacy of moral personality. Moral personality from its very nature requires for its expression the finite conditions of human life and relationship (see p. 25). Jesus Christ then, full of grace and truth—so full of grace and truth that men crowned Him with the highest names known to them in heaven and earth—has revealed the Father. All the value which spiritual men have found in our Lord He retains in virtue of a spiritual and moral supremacy to which the loftiest identifications possible to His contemporaries, bear impressive and significant witness.

"Giving thanks unto the Father . . . who delivered us out of the power of darkness, and translated us into the Kingdom of the Son of His love; in whom we have our redemption; the forgiveness of our sins; who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for in Him were all things created in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through Him and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist; and He is the head of the body, the church; who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in all things *He might have the preeminence.*" Here we have a summary of Paul's Christology; in the last clause is the significance of it all!

VI

The Mysteries

The other influence presumably affecting the mind of Paul at this period was that of the Mysteries. At the beginning of the Christian era existed a number of cults which bore sufficient degree of resemblance to certain features in Christian doctrine and practice to raise the question of their possible relation to the latter.

Our knowledge of these cults is handicapped by the fact that the essence of their more inward rites was secrecy. Inscriptions only bear witness to the outer and more formal public proceedings. The references to them by the Christian fathers belong to a post-apostolic period and are coloured by prejudice and polemical bias. As Kennedy points out ("Paul and the Mystery Religions," p. 68), the literary remains of these cults are few. "Some mystic formulae, a few hymns and prayers, some narratives of initiations and allied ceremonial, practically exhaust the list." It is difficult to fix dates, and in religious tradition the date of a document does not determine for us the age of the materials gathered up in it. Kennedy rightly remarks —"It is perhaps true, as Schweitzer asserts, that Paul cannot have known the Mystery religions as we know them because they did not exist in this elaborated form. But the 'elaborated form' which we can trace in the second or third centuries A.D. postulates a lengthy development, and it is hazardous to dogmatize what was and what was not possible, say, from the period of A.D. 30 to A.D. 100, or even earlier" (p. 70).

The origin of these cults lies far back in the region of nature myths and "sympathetic" magic. The changes of the seasons were explained by early speculators, by the life and death of the gods. This theory involved certain practices of "sympathetic" magic. There were ceremonies to revive and ensure the divine

energies. The life and action of man had effects upon the life and action of the gods. Human acts of fertilization were deemed to produce the general fertilization of nature (Frazer, "Adonis, Attis, Osiris," p. 4 *f.*). The notion of "sympathy" between the life of gods and of human beings came later to have an obverse significance. The death and resurrection of a vegetation god (the process suggested by the phenomena of autumn and spring) might through acts of assimilation produce re-birth and a guarantee of immortality in the worshipper. There arose a widespread belief in salvation and the gaining of immortality by Mystery rites of communion with the vegetation god who died and rose again.

VII

Such a worship was that of *Osiris* in Egypt, a cult shaped by Ptolemy Soter with the political object of uniting the Greek and Egyptian populations of his empire by a common bond of religion, but representing an older and widely diffused type of faith and worship. There was an annual celebration of the mourning of Isis over the slain Osiris, the gathering together of the latter's scattered remains and his resurrection to life by the divine agencies of Thoth and Horus. After his resurrection, Osiris was exalted to the lordship of the world and the judgeship of the dead. The evil by his adverse sentence, are destroyed, but the worthy enjoy eternal blessedness with their god. The stages of the ritual and the emotional and mystical experiences of initiation (see Metamorphoses of Apuleius, A.D. 150, for the initiations of Lucius, transformed back to human shape from that of an ass, by the goddess Isis) were conceived to bring the worshipper into a participation of the god's resurrection and life.

The kindred cult of *Adonis* or *Tammuz* was found in Syria, Cyprus, and Cilicia. Sandan, the Baal of Tarsus, belonged to this group, a son-deity made to pass

through the fire. He was said to have founded Tarsus, and the people of the city commemorated him at an annual, or at all events a periodical festival, by erecting a fire-pyre in his honour (Frazer).

The cult of *Attis* and *Cybele* was specially associated with Phrygia in Asia Minor. Attis appears to have been a god of vegetation, and his death and resurrection was annually mourned and rejoiced over at a festival in the spring. The myth says that he was beloved of Cybele, the mother of the gods. His mother Nana was a virgin who conceived by placing a ripe almond in her bosom. He was slain by a boar or by self-mutilation. The cult spread to Rome as early as 204 B.C., and the accounts of the annual rites in Rome, which Frazer believes differed hardly at all from their Asiatic originals in Phrygia (*ibid.* 222), tell how on the first day of the festival, March 22, a tree-trunk, carried by the guild of Tree-bearers, and swathed like a corpse and representing the slain god, was carried into the sanctuary of Cybele. On the evening of the third day, the mourning of the fasting worshippers was turned to joy. "For suddenly a light shone in the darkness; the tomb was opened; and as the priests touched the lips of the weeping mourners with balm, he softly whispered in their ears the glad tidings of salvation.

> Θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ Θέου σεσωσμένου
> ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτήρια.

The resurrection of the god was hailed by his disciples as a promise that they too would issue triumphant from the corruption of the grave" (Frazer, *ibid.* 227).

This was a public rite. There were also secret ceremonies which seem to have involved a sacramental meal and a baptism of blood. At the former the novice ate out of the drum, and drank from the cymbal (the musical instruments suggest the place taken by music in inducing an emotional or hypnotic state), and became a mystic votary of Attis. In the Taurobolium, the

devotee crept into a pit, covered with a grating over which the sacred bull was led and slain. The hot reeking blood poured over the worshipper who " emerged from the pit drenched, dripping and scarlet from head to foot, to receive the homage, nay the adoration of his fellows as one who had been born again, and had washed away his sins in the blood of the bull. For some time afterwards the fiction of a new birth was kept up by dieting him on milk like a newly born babe " (Frazer, *ibid.* 229). Attis had a sterner Phrygian counterpart in the figure of Sabazius.

VIII

The worship of *Mithra*, the Persian deity, which spread over the Roman Empire, had many resemblances both in doctrine and cult to the worship of Cybele, Attis and also to Christianity. It was a faith of Persian and Babylonian origin, and had incorporated elements from the native religions of Asia Minor, although it was of a purer and nobler type than they. The worthier features of Phrygian faith, on the other hand, have been attributed by Cumont and Dill to contact with Mithraism. The new life imparted to the novitiate by the Blood Baptism was maintained by Mithraic Love Feasts. These were in part commemorations of a Love Feast which Mithra was said to have held with other divine powers at the close of a terrestrial life; in part they were rites establishing communion with the god. Although Mithra in some sense created the world, he was later born into it, his birth in a cave being witnessed by shepherds. After his life on earth, Mithra ascends to the heavens, where he still watches over the faithful in the world. Presently he will return again, judge the quick and the dead, destroy the hosts of evil and establish a reign of blessedness for the righteous. The representation of the Mithraic Love Feasts show bread and a cup of

either water or wine upon the table; around stand the initiated, having "put on" the masks of the god (Pfleiderer suggests we should compare Gal. iii. 27) to express a mystic assimilation with him.

Mithra in Mazdeism is not the supreme Deity. Nevertheless, in the sacred texts, he is several times invoked in company with Ahura. The latter is said to have created Mithra, but it is likewise said that he created him just as great and worthy as himself. In late Mithraism the god still takes an inferior place. The supreme deity is Aion or Chronos, who in his ultimate being is ineffable, nameless and passionless. Mithra is the μεσίτης, "the mediator between the unapproachable and unknowable god that reigned in the ethereal spheres and the human race that struggled and suffered here below. . . . He is, to speak the philosophical language of the time, the Logos that emanates from God and shares His omnipotence; who after fashioning the world as demiurge, continues to watch faithfully over it. Further, it was Mithra, protector of the truth, that presided over the judgment of the soul after its decease. It was he, the mediator, that served as guide to his faithful ones in their courageous ascent to the empyrean; he was the celestial father that received them in his resplendent mansion like children who had returned from a distant voyage" (Cumont). *These resemblances of the figures of Mithra and Christ do not signify that Christianity borrowed the ideas of developed Mithraism, or that Mithraism borrowed the ideas of Christianity.* The dates of Mithraic development are somewhat uncertain, and Cumont believes that in the Pauline period the "Mysteries of Mithra did not as yet possess any importance," and Kennedy does not include them in his study ("Paul and the Mystery Religions," p. 114). But such Mithraic customs and ideas were likely to be derived from older practices and thoughts, and *indicate widely spread ways of thinking and a stock of common beliefs during the forma-*

tive age of Christian thought. The Mithraic Parousia and Millennium have parallels, for instance, in the pre-Christian Similitudes of Enoch. Dieterich holds that the Parisian "magic papyrus" containing the prayers of the ascent of the mystae to the presence of the highest god in the heavens is a Mithraic liturgy, though this is challenged by Cumont and Reitzenstein.

IX

A similar significance as showing how the thought of the early Christian era could form itself, attaches to the *Hermetic literature.* Very different estimates are given of the dates of the materials which compose it. It consists of eighteen sacred documents, compiled, so Reitzenstein believes, by an Egyptian priest about A.D. 300 to show that the Hellenized religion of Egypt was uniform with that of the Empire as a whole. Reitzenstein believes that the documents belong, roughly speaking, between the beginning of the first century A.D. and the end of the third. Gilbert Murray describes the Poimandres revelation as a "pre-Christian document," and E. F. Scott (Art. "Gnosticism," *E.R.E.*) speaks of the "so-called Hermetic literature as compiled from sources which were certainly in existence in the first and second centuries B.C." Flinders Petrie ("Personal Religion in Egypt before Christ") places some of the material centuries earlier! Without attempting to establish definite relations of influence and dependence, we may take this literature as generally illustrative of tendencies and beliefs and terms common in religious circles around the Eastern Mediterranean about the beginning of the Christian era. There is much of a process of regeneration by mystic experience, induced by a revelation, a supernatural "gnosis," a first-hand knowledge of God, which "deifies" the mystic (Kennedy, p. 110). Reitzenstein attached importance to the belief which he claims to find in

this syncretistic literature of a god Anthropos who came, he suggests, to be identified in Pauline writings with Christ (Poimandres, pp. 81 *ff.*). In later works Reitzenstein has been seriously revising earlier views.

X

Further, we need to notice the features and development of the Mysteries in Greece itself. These fall into two classes—those connected with definite localities and local deities, and those more widely diffused in fellowships and guilds. Of the former class the *Eleusinian Mysteries* are the best known. They had their seat at Eleusis, sixteen miles from Athens, and were in honour of Demeter and her daughter Persephone. Originally they seem to have been agricultural rites of the primitive type and significance, but they grew to be connected with the beliefs of immortality and salvation, and apparently were not without ethical features and stimulus. "The saving and healthy effect of the Eleusinian Mysteries was believed in not only by the mass of the people but by many of the most thoughtful and educated intellects—Pindar, Sophocles, Isocrates, Plutarch, etc. . . . Plato condemns in strongest terms the Orphic Mysteries, which promise salvation in return for mere ritualistic rites of purification and initiation; if he respects the Eleusinian Mysteries (which he does), which also promise salvation as the reward of initiation, this can only be because he believes they promise it on different grounds. . . . Isocrates expressly says that this salvation in the future life, the reward of the initiated, is gained by all who live a pious and just life" (W. M. Ramsay, *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed., Art. "Mysteries"). Andocides says to his judges—"You are initiated that you may punish impiety, and save those that defend themselves from injustice." Cicero in his "De Legibus" (ii. 14), expresses the view that Athens had produced nothing better than the

Mysteries of Eleusis, not only in regard to the ordering and civilizing of life, but in regard to the furnishing of a good hope in death (P. Gardner, "Greek Mysteries," *E.R.E.*).

Dionysiac and Orphic Mysteries.

The original seat of Dionysus was in Thrace, and his rites were rude, coarse, and orgiastic. "From the Bacchae of Euripides, we gather their general character —wild ecstasy, wanderings in mountains, tearing and devouring sacred animals, sexual irregularities" (*ibid.*). The object of these exercises was to establish some corporeal contact and identification with deity. The Dionysiac became transformed by a new, gentler and nobler spirit associated with the name of Orpheus. The keynote was still identification with the god, but there were different conceptions of the nature of deity and of the means of assimilation with him. "The grace sought was not physical intoxication, but spiritual ecstasy; the means adopted, not drunkenness, but abstinence and rites of purification" (Jane Harrison). Around the myth of Zagraeus, entrapped and devoured, all but the heart, by the Titans, and avenged by Zeus, who slew the murderers and from the heart produced another Zagraeus, gathered the doctrine that in man there is a divine element never wholly overcome by the Titans, the enemies of the soul. Purification and initiation can deliver man from the circle of births and deaths, the κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως, and unite him with deity. A further reformation seems to have been effected by Pythagoras, who, it is claimed, "rekindled the mystic faith inherent in Orphism by transforming the cult into a way of life, and substituted for ritual cleansing a purification by means of the pursuit of wisdom (φιλοσοφία), while still retaining certain elements of the Orphic ἄσκησις" (Kennedy, pp. 12 *f.*).

XI

Between these Mystery cults and developed Paulinism there are arresting points of resemblance. Like Christianity, the Mystery faith was one for individuals and small communities. Membership was based in both thiasus and Christian Church upon spiritual needs and religious feelings. Purification, salvation, fellowship, immortality were emphasized in both. Early Christians noting the doctrine of the Mysteries of a salvation effected through the mystic communion with a deity dying and rising again, originally a vegetation god, commented—*Habet diabolus suos christos*. Loisy speaks of Jesus Christ as "a saviour god after the manner of an Osiris, an Attis, a Mithra. Like them he belonged by his origin to the celestial world; like them he had made his appearance upon the earth; like them he had accomplished a work of universal redemption, efficacious and typical; like Adonis, Osiris, and Attis he had died a violent death, and like them he had been restored to life; like them he had pre-figured in his lot that of the human beings who should take part in his worship and commemorate his mystic enterprise; like them he had predestined, prepared and assured the salvation of those who became partners in his passion" (*Hibbert Journal*, October, 1911. Loisy's views are elaborated in his "Mystères Païens et le Mystère Chrétien," 1914). The Mysteries had their baptisms and communion meals, and the Pauline language concerning baptism as a "sympathetic" re-enactment of the death and resurrection of Christ seems a direct reference to the theories of the Mysteries, and the Pauline Eucharist, like the Communion Meal of the Mysteries, is to make the worshipper partake in some sense of the life of the worshipped. Mysticism is a characteristic of developed Paulinism as it was of the Mysteries. And Paul's use of such terms as Μυστήριον, γνῶσις, πνεῦμα, ψυχή, τέλειος and their

derivatives show him familiar with the technical vocabulary of the contemporary cults.

XII

There is little doubt about the signs of Mystery influence upon early Christian doctrine and practice at a later period. Schweitzer allows that the doctrine of the Sacraments found in the Fourth Gospel and the Greek Fathers has been affected by Greek influences and indeed has affinities with the Mysteries. "In the Fourth Gospel Christianity presents itself as the most highly developed Greek Mystery religion which it is possible to conceive" ("Paul and His Interpreters," p. 202). But Paul's doctrine of the Sacraments, he thinks, can and must be explained by the apocalyptic tendencies of thought—a "sealing" or "guarantee" of apocalyptic process. In the Johannine and Greek theory, according to Schweitzer, the Son of Man takes successive corporeal forms as Jesus and the Spirit. "As long as Jesus Himself is alive there is certainly no spirit; it is only on His exaltation that the Spirit is liberated from the historic personality of the Son of Man, and becomes separated from the Logos as the Holy Spirit in order in the Sacraments to lead a new existence—and this time an existence capable of being communicated to others" (p. 201).* The Johannine Sacrament involves a physical act and an ethical volition; a new birth is brought about by a gnosis and vision of God. All these are also characteristics of the Mysteries. But in the Pauline Sacrament, according to Schweitzer, predestinarianism takes the place of ethical volition; the physical act is a mere sequel of an already deter-

* A "prophetic" interpretation of "If I go not away the Paraclete will not come unto you" (John xvi. 7) is that the disciples would never realize their inward divine resources until left alone with their responsibilities. The sheltered would never develop stamina. *Cf.* Emerson's sentiment in his "Essay on Compensations"—"The *angels* go out that the *archangels* may come in."

mined destiny, and the gnosis and vision of God are "the consequence of the renewal, the efficient cause of which lies not in the act of the individual and in the inherent efficacy of the Sacrament, but in a world-process. As soon as the individual enters by faith and baptism into this new cosmic process, he is immediately renewed in harmony therewith, and now receives Spirit, ecstasy, gnosis, and everything that these imply" (p. 224). No doubt Paul's predestinarianism may be inconsistent with ethical volition in the Sacraments, but it is also inconsistent with all the moral appeals and exhortations found in Paul's epistles, and seems uncertain ground for a distinction between Johannine and Pauline sacramentalism. Apocalyptic is found in the Fourth Gospel as well as in Paul, but there it does not exclude, according to Schweitzer, the influence of the Mysteries upon Johannine Sacrament. One is inclined, therefore, to disallow the sharp distinction drawn by Schweitzer between the Pauline and Johannine doctrines of sacramentalism, although some development is natural; and it seems reasonable to believe that the contemporary influence of the Mysteries which affected the latter, would not be altogether absent in the case of the former.

In supporting his contention of the purely apocalyptic significance of Pauline Sacraments, Schweitzer makes much of our absence of knowledge of exact analogies between Pauline Sacraments and the Mysteries. There are developed baptismal doctrines and rites in the Egyptian cults, sprinklings of consecration and baths of purification, but no reference to "a bath of regeneration" (Titus iii. 5). Pauline baptism is in the "name of Jesus," but nothing is known of baptism "in the name of" Osiris, Attis or Mithra. There are many instances of pagan ideas of magical potency of the use of a name of a god, but no known analogy in the Mysteries. The regenerative Taurobolium is a baptism of blood, and is associated with sacrifice, not with

cleansing. There is no definite instance of "baptism for the dead" in pagan cults. But our ignorance of detail is not surprising in view of our scanty knowledge of the Mysteries; the more impressive fact is that the general theory of the Mysteries—a conception of assimilation with the life of deity by "sympathetic" rite—seems, with all important differences which we shall note later, to underlie Paul's interpretation of Baptism and the Eucharist.

Schweitzer remarks that "the assertion that in the Mystery religions, the ancient cultus conception of a union with the divinity effected by a meal ('eating the god') came to life again, goes far beyond what can be proved" (p. 197). On the other hand, he finds it incredible that Paul would attach any significance of "eating the god" to his cultus meal. "The apostle would certainly be the first and only theologian to fall under the spell of the primitive conception of 'eating the god'!" (p. 204). From neither the Mysteries nor Paulinism is this supposed link of connection offered! But the case becomes rather different if we adopt the natural supposition that in the Mysteries the old crude cultus idea had become refined and in a measure spiritualized so that the significance of mystic union had grown upon the old magic form, and that Paul, familiar with words coming from the Synoptic tradition —sayings which were originally, we should suggest, parabolic in their nature—should find new meaning in them in the light of contemporary Mysteries and in his own mystic experience of spiritual community with deity.*

* Loisy's remark is sound ("Les Mystères Païens," p. 362)—"Prouver que le strict équivalènt de l'eucharistie ne se recontre en aucun mystère païen, pour autant que ces mystères nous sont connus, ne donne pas le droit de nier toute influence des mystères païens sur la cène chrétienne. Les premiers chrétiens n'ont pas insitué la cène pour imiter un mystère quelconque, mais ils ont bientôt et plus en plus compris la cène à la façon des rites de communion mystique usités dans le paganisme."

XIII

Gustav Anrich ("Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum," 1894) doubted any real influence from the pagan world upon the Pauline or Johannine views of baptism or the communion meal, though at a later time, such influence does come into question. Schweitzer thinks Anrich did not sufficiently take into account the "physical" elements of the Johannine sacraments in coming to this conclusion (p. 190). Anrich would concede that "the most general and most important parts of the terminology of the Mysteries passed into the language of the Church." He continues—"We need not look for any calculated or intentional adoption; for at all times the Church had the utmost horror of heathen Mysteries. Rather the fact that the ceremonies of the Church were regarded as Mysteries led naturally to an unintentional adoption of terms suitable to that way of regarding them which had been moulded by the practice of centuries, and had become a settled part of the Greek language."

Although we believe that the influence of the Mysteries upon Paul affected the form rather than the substance of his gospel, and worked on the circumference rather than upon the centre of his thought, yet we believe that Anrich's conclusion is an understatement and that the association of Paul and the Mysteries was less casual and remote than is here suggested. The argument based on the horror of the Mysteries by the Christian Church especially needs to be examined.

There was a polemic against Gnosticism in the early Church. It can be traced even in Paul and John, and yet in both these writers there are evidences of Gnostic tendencies and influence. The Gnostic Marcion found Paul his apostle. Dr. E. F. Scott notes the curious double attitude of the Fourth Evangelist of sympathy and hostility towards Gnostic ideas

("The Fourth Gospel," pp. 87 *ff.*). "Incipient Gnosticism and the Mystery religions are phenomena that overlap" (Kennedy), and it is not inconceivable that Paul, polemical towards some features of the Mystery Religions, would find others suggestive and useful for clothing the truths of his own experience. Again, the harder and more pronounced polemic came later than Paul's day. It is more evident in John than in Paul, and emphatic in the Church Fathers. This suggests that the Mystery ideas entered Christian thought at an earlier period before the antagonisms between Church and Mystery cults had become so pronounced. It is easier to think of Paul at an original and creative period of Christian thought, gathering ideas and suggestions from the Mysteries, than to think, for instance, of Tertullian so doing. Systems are moulded in their plastic original period when men are thinking freshly rather than when thought has hardened, and men dare not break away from the traditions of the founders.

With the Anatolian veneration for stocks and stones, with the degrading licentious rites of the worship of Cybele and Attis, Paul could have no sympathy. The burning sentiments of the Wisdom of Solomon against senseless idolatry exactly voiced Paul's feelings in regard to such mean and demoralizing worship, and in the opening chapter of the Epistle to the Romans (verses 18-22) he echoes the earlier denunciation of the apocryphal writing (Wisd. xiii., xiv.). But in every religion, there are lower and higher features, and in the higher elements of the faiths of Asia Minor, Paul might find suggestions helping him to elaborate his Christianity, and to sharpen and define doctrines held only vaguely in his thought, and the resemblances between Anatolianism, and the mediatorial and apocalyptic Christianity which Paul had inherited from the Jewish Christian circle, would naturally be a factor in the process.

We must not overlook the significance of the Areo-

pagus speech (Acts xvii.), which may be regarded as a typical address of Paul in dealing with educated Gentiles. One only wonders how far it was characteristic of Paul in the period of the writing of the Thessalonian epistles in which the Jewish atmosphere of apocalypse so obviously predominates. But we may take the Areopagus speech as indicating Paul's sentiment towards higher heathenism in the later period of Luke's contact with him. In some respects, he looks upon pagan religions as he looks upon Judaism—faiths outgrown, containing "ancient good which time has made uncouth." They are the products of "the times of ignorance," and must be surrendered in favour of Christianity. Nevertheless, God has not left Himself without witness even among the heathen. Their altar to the unknown God was a testimony to their groping after the true God. Indeed they are a "religious" people (R.V., marg., verse 22). In the introduction to the Epistle to the Romans, Paul grants that God had manifested Himself in part to the heathen. They knew God, although their worship of Him was imperfect. They did not glorify Him as God, neither gave thanks (i. 21). If God then had been working among the heathen, could not some glimmering of the true faith be found among them? Judaism, now made obsolete, had its anticipations of Christianity—might not paganism, even if infinitely inferior to Judaism as Paul evidently conceived it to be, also hold broken truths? Paul may condemn heathenism, as indeed he condemns Judaism, and yet be willing to see Christianity pre-figured among the religious conceptions and practices of the Gentiles. He may refer to the *communion meal of the thiasi* as a "table of devils" (though Schweitzer thinks the reference is to ordinary heathen meals) and yet "baptize into Christianity" the doctrines of the practice. "There is some significance for Paul's attitude in the position of Philo, also a Jew of the Diaspora who, while manifesting a dislike

of the mystic cults, has powerfully been affected by some of their ideas " (Kennedy, " Paul and the Mystery Religions," p. 117). And most important of all, we must realize that *if Paul introduced certain elements from the religious practices of the Gentile world into his developed thought, they were only brought in to account for, or even merely to express, Paul's own workings of soul and experiences of life.* They were clothing lying at hand, which Paul seized because he was conscious of a body of spiritual reality to be clothed.

XIV

Moreover, if Paul accepted the suggestiveness of the Mysteries of the Anatolian and Hellenistic world, he transformed their nature, and changed their meaning from physical and psychical to spiritual and ethical. The salvation of the Mysteries was chiefly from physical ills and mental misery; Paul's salvation was chiefly deliverance from the bondage of the lower nature, the power of sin. The pagan sacraments seem to have been magical or quasi-physical in their operation; the Christian sacraments derived their value from a spiritual and ethical process in the souls of men, in association with the outward acts. The heathen sacraments were not introduced unchanged with their old connotations; they were transformed by their " baptism into Christianity." They were given new meaning, significance, spiritual worth. The fire of God had descended upon the common wood brought to the altar. Possibly the Mysteries in their higher forms had some nobler significance; possibly Christian sacramentalism from the first had some suspicion of quasi-physical efficacy (see E. F. Scott's " Fourth Gospel "), but the general statement may be made that *if Christianity adopted pagan elements it also transformed them by its ethical and spiritual emphasis.* On the other hand, the essential differences between pagan and Christian Sacraments,

do not exclude the possibility and probability of a historical connection. It is difficult to avoid the idea of some influence and relationship, although it is easy to exaggerate its extent and importance.

Kennedy in his "St. Paul and the Mystery Religions," is able to show that the apostle's use of such Mystery terms as πνεῦμα, ψυχή and their derivatives, has its roots in the soil of the Old Testament, and that even the idea of γνῶσις as an experience of God rather than an intellectual belief about Him, has Hebrew parallels. But he does not deny that "St. Paul presupposed his reader's acquaintance with these terms through the medium of the Mystery religions." The question of Paul's sympathy with Mystery conceptions is of course a further one. We believe that he found some of the ideas and practices suggestive, and that they provided forms for the expression of a Christian faith which had its real basis in Paul's own experience, and that the ethical and spiritual nature of that experience virtually transformed the rites and conceptions "baptized into Christianity." The Mysteries had the value of "suggestiveness"; they supplied terms which had also Old Testament sanction; Paul wrote with distinct consciousness of Mystery terms, ideas, practices, but the controlling interest in his use of these, came from his own experience, and had its real stimulus in the ethical and spiritual teaching of Jesus Christ.

XV

One more point demands consideration. It is necessary in considering Pauline development to give weight to the fact that he was a Jew primarily and not a Hellenist. We naturally seek as many sources of his thought forms as we can in late Judaism. But the exigences of historical development require links with later Hellenistic Christianity as well as with earlier Jewish Christianity. *In our desire to avoid a gap*

between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity, we must not make the gap too wide between it and later Hellenistic Christianity. A point of contact must be established between the later as well as the earlier form of Christianity. That the Johannine theology and the doctrines of the early fathers are Hellenistic is undoubted—who prepared the way for that development? How do we conceive Christianity ever making the break from Judaism? Between the two positions lies the historical figure of one, who though a Jew dared to break with Judaism in respect to traditional ritualism and faith; one capable of so much was capable of more. A Jew who challenged circumcision and the law was in no slavish bondage to tradition. He had an obvious affection for his father's faith, but so had Philo his contemporary, who went far in combining Hellenistic and Egyptian elements with Hebrew tradition, and always regarded himself as faithful to the latter.

XVI

We shall further discuss some of the details involved in the question in considering Paul's doctrine of the sacraments, but meanwhile, we may say that it does not seem to us inconceivable, nay, that it has strong probability on its side, that Paul was in some degree influenced by the ideas and practices of the nobler Mysteries of his day, and that these supplied him not merely with a vocabulary but with moulds for his thought and practice. The most likely time for this influence to make itself felt was between the writing of the first and second groups of epistles, when much happened to liberate Paul from the authority of Judaism, and the sojourn in Corinth and Ephesus, the contact with Apollos and the Ephesian Asiarchs might well stimulate new trains of thought. But contemporary thought was only an influence and not a determinant. The Christian body received a new

dress, but it was still a Christian body. Each doctrine must be traced back to its basis of experience. There is much wood, hay and stubble; some precious metal; but the foundation after all is Jesus Christ. We can hold that the pure Christian gospel is untouched, and remains definitely and characteristically Christian even while admitting the force of Dr. Gardner's striking and suggestive comment that "the great difference between the teaching of the Synoptic Jesus on the one hand, and that of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist and the author of Hebrews on the other, is just that the latter are permeated as the former is not by ideas of spirit, communion, salvation, justification and mediation—ideas which had found an utterance however imperfect in the teaching of the thiasi" ("Exploratio Evangelica"). The seeds from the gospel of Galilee drew nourishment for their growth even from such soil. The alchemy of the spirit of Christ even transformed and transmuted for its own purposes such strange and foreign material.

CHAPTER V

THE PAULINE SYSTEM OF SALVATION BY FAITH

The nature of Paul's systematizing—His value not as a logical system-builder, but as a witness to religious experiences and intuitions—A formula of analysis: (*a*) underlying experience, (*b*) contemporary expression, (*c*) Jewish reference and sanction—Paul's deference to the "Oracles of God"—Owing to earlier Hellenistic influence on Jewish literature, Paul could travel far within the sanction of Jewish writings—Elements of experience—(*a*) Paul's deliverance from fleshly bondage—(*b*) His Christian escape from Jewish legalism—(*c*) The liberating influence found in the historical Jesus—(*d*) Paul's mysticism—Features of Mysticism—The essential organic unity of all life—Cosmic optimism—Communion with the Absolute—Social solidarity—Newness of life—Sense of immortality—Key of mysticism for Pauline doctrine—The inward Christ—Inward revelation—Paul's doctrine of Salvation—Its centrality for his thought—Its many constituent elements—The Two Ages—Apocalyptic salvation—The breaking of the bondage of the evil principalities and powers—Christ has broken the rule; others shall share His triumph by mystic assimilation with Him—The Spirit—The witness of this Gnostic theory to a mystical experience of union with Christ and liberation from the bondage of the lower nature and its weaknesses and fears—Relation to Redemption in the historical life of Jesus—Levitical elements in Pauline salvation—Refined expression of propitiation in Isaiah liii. and Book of Maccabees—Simplicity and "prophetic" nature of idea of forgiveness in Synoptics—The "prophetic" significance of the Cross—Christ's suffering not forensic "satisfaction" to God or demons, but involved in the cosmic principle of manifesting the divine through painful struggle against limitations. Race-solidarity and redemptive influence—Mystical elements in Paul's Soteriology—The Mysteries—Methods of Communion—Sacramental "suggestion"—Paul's "faith *into* Christ"—Faith as "gnosis" passing into mystic assimilative union with Christ—But the highest method of realizing such a union is that of the direct spiritual and ethical influence of Jesus of Nazareth upon the souls of men—"The pure in heart shall see God."

I

The Nature of Paul's Systematizing

Our study so far has made us conscious of the complexity of Paul's thought. We have recognized elements from the teachings of the historic Jesus, from the Old Testament, from popular apocalypses, from Rabbinism, from the Mysteries, from Hellenistic philosophy. Can we now find some ordered working of Paul's mind, some signs of a process and principle which can explain his thought and allow us to judge its value?

A general system and philosophy of life Paul came undoubtedly to form, in which these many elements found a place. But it is not here in any soundness and consistency of the Pauline system that Paul's significance is to be sought. It was not the age to produce logical and consistent intellectual systems. It was a period of eclecticism. It produced no Plato or Aristotle; Philo was a fair representative. Paul exhibited the mental characteristics of his generation. From his Rabbinical training he had learnt "the art of dissecting maxims, drawing conclusions from premises, following up whole chains of inference, rebutting objections—in brief, of exercising in religious questions what we may call a forensic method of dealing with evidence—and the art of subtle polemic" (Wrede, "Paul," p. 5). From this we may gain an impression that we have here an acute logical thinker, whose thought and systematizing will everywhere exhibit a precise consistency. Indeed it is on this presupposition that Schweitzer builds his arguments. He cannot conceive "two souls within one breast" ("Paul and His Interpreters," p. 72). But Rabbinical logic is one thing, and broad and sound systematizing is another. Adroit argumentation and the juxtaposition of diverse and irreconcilable elements may often be found together.

There can be a mental "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel," and as Frazer in a footnote on the first page of his "Adonis, Attis, Osiris" remarks—"Unless we allow for this innate capacity of the human mind to entertain contradictory beliefs at the same time, we shall in vain attempt to understand the history of thought in general and of religion in particular."

II

Witness to Experience

In seeking then to understand and appreciate Paul's position as a religious philosopher and theologian we must take into account his type of psychological experience. "When we call Paul a theologian," says Wrede ("Paul," p. 74), "we must expressly exclude modern associations of the word. He possessed no theological learning in our sense, and has very little affinity with our dogmatic and ethical writers. He never attempts—not even in the letter to the Romans—to unfold a system of doctrine. He writes always as a missionary, an organizer, a speaker to the people, is guided in the setting forth of his thoughts by the occasion given, and treats only of particular sides of his subject. . . . The idea that we can find in him a cold doctrine to be grasped by the understanding, a doctrine which soars more or less beyond the region of mere piety, is false."

Paul then is *not an intellectual systematizer—he is rather a man with intense religious experiences, who seeks an explanation of them, builds up as he can on this and that experience without being over-concerned to relate all his building, all his interpretations and doctrines into one consistent and systematized whole.* It is not easy to make all the details of Paul's doctrine hang together. Like most men, he has behind his thought two or three systems, not altogether consistent. When his teaching was developed it took lines in different directions

because these diverse potentialities were inherent in it. Gnosticism and anti-Gnosticism both appealed to the authority of Paul. Sacramentarians and anti-Sacramentarians may both quote him. The apostle felt the attraction of bold cosmic systems set forth by the most intellectual of Greek thinkers—witness the eighth chapter of Romans; on the other hand, he incorporates quite freely, Rabbinical speculation of a very unphilosophic kind.

*We seek Paul's significance therefore, not in his consistency but in his witness to religious intuitions and experiences.** He was by no means a mere comprehender of systems, making as satisfactory and as harmonious a collection as possible, of the intellectual material that lay at hand; he related all his thinking to his own spiritual life and experience. Thus there was in Paul an element of reality beneath forms largely temporal, fallible and inconsistent. It is this reality which has always constituted his appeal, and these elements of reality we must seek and emphasize, if we would find Paul's real value and significance.

III

Formula of Analysis

We may indeed in considering Paul's doctrines, apply a formula of analysis—(*a*) the underlying experience, (*b*) the expression in contemporary terms, and (*c*) the Jewish reference and sanction. (1) We must seek at the root of each doctrine an element of experience, a personal intuition, an appreciation of what was of vital worth to his own spiritual life and of satisfaction for his own religious need, a fact of personal spiritual observation or experience. Here we have the element

* *Cf.* Reinhold Seeberg ("Lehrbuch Der Dogmengeschichte," 2nd edition, 1908), whose view was that Paul did not create a "unified system" but that his thought moved amid a number of different sets of ideas which were held together by "religion as an experience."

of natural religion, the basis of spiritual and moral "Nature." (2) Around such experiences theories would form. It was not an age of science, nor of pure philosophy. The speculations of the great philosophical thinkers of Greece had become hopelessly mingled with myth and legend. Through the mist, gleams of original light and truth struggled, but the true philosophic temper had passed. The contemporary thought forms available for Paul to clothe his experience, were derived from tradition, Rabbinical fancies and gnostic speculation, and must be freely recognized as such. (3) Further, Paul, as a Jew, gloried in the thought of his nation possessing the "oracles of God." Religious pioneer as he was, open-minded to the thought of the broader world in which his life and work lay, influenced by motives of "missionary accommodation," the need of presenting his ideas in the terms of other men's minds, Paul, we may suppose, developed naturally along the lines laid down by the thought of Judaism; each new doctrine had a Jewish point of departure; each step forward was made with one foot remaining on Jewish soil, and for each advance there would be some Jewish "authority" and justification.*

Thanks to the fact that late Judaism had made an amalgam with the thought of Persian and Hellenistic worlds generations earlier, Paul could find Jewish precedent and parallel for most of his developments. At the same time it is most natural to allow to external

* "The epistle to the Romans begins and ends with a reference to 'the holy and prophetic writings.' Proof for arguments are again and again sought in the Old Testament." This authority seems also to have been found in some of the apocryphal books. "As early as the time of Origen it was asserted that Paul, in quotations which could not be traced in the Old Testament in identical form in which he cites them, had made use of apocryphal writings," *e.g.*, in 1 Cor. ii., 9, we have *καθώς γέγραπται* (the formula of quotations from canonical writings) applied to a passage which Origen traced to the *Secrets of Elias* ("The Relation of Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought," St. John Thackeray, p. 240).

influences some place in stimulating these developments, or in providing the forms in which Paul's experiences could clothe themselves. It seems to us less likely that Paul should work out from Jewish hints without consciousness of, or reference to, contemporary Mysteries or Hellenistic doctrines, positions which approximated in striking detail to them, than that he should be impressed by certain features of the latter, and should then turn back to find in Hebrew apocalypse, Rabbinical speculation, or Jewish-Alexandrian writing, some kindred idea which saved the new thought or practice from being entirely foreign to Paul's old faith. Indeed we seem to find instances of Paul allegorizing Jewish scriptures to provide support for ideas which would not naturally arise from them. Thus Percy Gardner ("Religious Experiences of St. Paul," p. 123) remarks—"It is very characteristic of the working of the Apostle's mind that though he could not find in Jewish usage any direct justification for his sacramental ideas, yet he is determined to import them into the Jewish scriptures. Nor was it hard to do this for a mind so ready to accept figurative and symbolical interpretations of historic narratives. He finds a prototype of baptism in the passing through the Red Sea . . . and a prototype of the meal of Communion in the drinking by the people of water from the rock when it flowed forth at the stroke of Moses' staff (1 Cor. x.). . . . This remarkable passage throws a strong light on the working of the apostle's mind. And it removes any hesitation we might feel in supposing that he might be influenced by heathen ideas. As heathen he would no doubt rigorously exclude them. But how easy it was for him to believe that they were not heathen but really Jewish. It is the same vein of thought which is taken up by Philo that everything good in Greek custom and thought really comes from the Divine revelation made to Israel."

IV

Elements of Experience

(*a*) Among the elements of experience, there was first Paul's sense of moral struggle, the practical problem of a world in thraldom to a lower nature. The opening chapters of Romans reveal a soul sensitive to the viciousness of society both Jewish and Gentile. The world was morally out of joint, and man seemed unable to set it right. In himself, Paul felt the tyranny of this lower nature. "The good that I would, I do not, and the evil that I would not, that I do. . . . O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this death burdened body?" Such moral experience led Paul to entertain that Greek philosophy which had its parent in one element of Plato's thought—the idea of the body as the prison of the soul, from which death might liberate it; it led him to Rabbinical theories of the rule of the evil principalities and powers, world rulers of darkness having dominion over man, since the fall of Adam, and as its consequence; it sent him to frame theories of salvation, not political or politico-apocalyptic in nature, but psychological and ethical. Man needed to be delivered, not merely from a wrath to come, but from a present tyranny of sin and the flesh.

(*b*) *The Law.*—Paul's experience with the Judaizers led him to look upon the Law with its ordinances as something hostile to the deepest spirit of religion. What really troubled Paul was not the Law but the spirit of Legalism which he found tending to strangle his spiritual originality and to hamper his practical missionary labour. Paul does not make very clear the distinction between Law and Legalism, and he tends to associate with Law itself a sinister significance. He realizes that the Law in itself is good, but it emerges as a contributor to evil. The Law showed the Divine norm, but gave no strength to fulfil it. It became a

factor of condemnation rather than help. "Heaven's light had but revealed a track whereby to crawl away from heaven." This experience with Jewish legalists led Paul to regard the Law as a member of the evil confederation arrayed against man. It becomes classed with the Flesh, Sin and Death as World Rulers of Darkness, the elemental evil principalities and powers which hold the world in bondage.

(*c*) The third great fact of experience was that Paul had found in Jesus of Nazareth the influence which had liberated his higher life. It is true that Christ had become for him much more than "Jesus after the flesh." He says singularly little about the historical Jesus. He found as the centre of his regenerated experience a mystic inward Christ, in many features indistinguishable from what we call the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, the stimulus and inspiration leading him to these inward experiences, he traces definitely to a historical figure, and everywhere associates his inward Christ with Jesus of Nazareth. This is the fact that accounts for his zealous identification of Jesus with the Jewish Messiah, with the apocalyptic Man from Heaven, with the Alexandrian Logos—the identifications are of less value than the reason why such exalted identifications were made.

(*d*) The fourth base of experience on which Paul built, was that of Mysticism, which may be described as that mode of consciousness in which we become aware of life as a totality rather than as a number of finite parts. We may use as a figure, the way we look upon a picture; we can look upon the details, the differences and contrasts, the lines, colours and minutiae, or we can stand back and take the effect as a whole. Life is One in many forms, and we can look upon life either as the One or the Many, and this implies two modes of consciousness—that in which the sense of the Many predominates—that is our ordinary observation of life with all its variety of Finites, and on the other hand

a mode of consciousness in which the sense of the One predominates—the sense of the Infinite. We can call this the cosmic, or mystic consciousness. Most of us have approaches to the experience of mysticism in our sense of personal religion; in our consciousness that we are not isolated individual beings, but part of a World Life and a World Soul; or when we feel that we live and move and have our being in God; or when we feel, like Augustine, the soundness of the universe, the love of God, as an intuition beyond all argument. It is the mood in which we gain some impression of life as a totality, *simul totum*; the sense of the One predominates over that of the Many; the sense of Infinity predominates over that of the Finites; Eternity swallows up Time; or to use another set of correlative philosophical terms, we become conscious of the universe as Being rather than as Becoming.

V

There are several well-marked features which characterize this mode of consciousness, which we can trace in some degree in the religious teaching of Paul.

1. The *essential unity of all life*, the relation of God and the universe. "The mystical states," says Professor W. James, "point in different philosophical directions, one of which is monism." This must not be taken to imply a doctrine of amorphous pantheism, in which all values, distinctions and parts are obliterated. When we take away branches, leaves, roots, there cannot remain a tree apart from these. The universe must be conceived as organic and not as amorphous Oneness. But the sense of the monistic aspect of the universe is very apparent in Paul's thought. We may well accept the line in his Areopagus speech—"In Him we live and move, and have our being." The idea finds expression in his references to creation. In God or Christ were all things created and hold together. In 1 Cor. xv., there is the conception of the cosmic circle—all things proceeding

from God, and returning to God, that God may be all in all. All creation travails in pain together so that the sons of God should be manifested—that is, there is the suggestion that God is involved in all the processes of life, so that God may be evolved, or manifested in the working out of the ages. There are of course other passages which challenge this point of view. A dualism is forced by experience, not only upon Paul but upon Plato, and Plotinus, who are more acute philosophers than Paul. Thought about the universe must be antinomious. But Paul must be set among those who are sensitive to the monistic aspect of the universe, and who bear witness thereby to a mystic or cosmic consciousness. The stress upon God's sovereignty in Romans proceeds from the same cosmic intuition, and gives rise to the problem of Predestination (see later, p. 207).

VI

2. The mystic or cosmic consciousness again "sets in the direction of *optimism*. The keynote of it all is invariably a reconciliation. It is as if the opposites of the world whose contradictoriness and conflict make all our differences and troubles, were melted into unity" (W. James). To return to our figure, the great patches of black among the details of the picture, fall into a larger harmony of black and white, when we look on the canvas as a whole. The inferences from the world of finite phenomena are so mixed; there is so much to suggest an ultimate evil rather than an ultimate good, that one doubts whether man could keep his conviction of the soundness of the universe if he had not this faculty of sensing the whole, of standing back from the picture and receiving the combined impression of its detailed and finite parts.

But despite all the challenges of the dark things in life, there has been found a significant optimism most pronounced among men of mystic or religious

temperament. "A sunny confidence in the ultimate triumph shines from the writings of most of the mystics" (Inge). It is hardly necessary to illustrate this feature from Paulinism. The fruits of the spirit include joy. "Rejoice, again I say, Rejoice." "Neither life nor death, things present nor things to come, can separate us from the love of God." "To them that love God all things work together for good." Let this intuition be deepened in personality, and it will produce its doctrines of hope—a Messianic expectation, the forward look to a Second Advent, or a conviction of a "far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves" (*cf.* Rom. viii.).

VII

3. A third factor of the cosmic consciousness is that of *communion, or assimilation with Deity.* "In mystic states we become one with the Absolute and we become aware of our oneness. . . . Perpetually telling of the unity of God and man, the speech of mysticism antedates language and does not grow old" (W. James). We are part of a larger organism, not merely in a region of physical relationships with the life of the past and future, or by means of social contact, but in the region of personality. In the most intense experience of the great mystics, the individual seems almost swallowed up in the Oversoul. "I am as great as God: He is as small as I" (Angelus Silesius). Such experiences seem to have supplied the idea underlying many ancient sacrificial customs, and most of the practices of the Mysteries. It finds abundant expression in Christian hymns and other literature. It is found conspicuously in Indian religions and practices. And it is a feature which throws light on some of the central doctrines of Paul.

VIII

Mysticism also gives a sense of *social solidarity*. Walt Whitman thus describes one of his mystic states—

> "Swiftly arose and spread about me the peace and knowledge that pass all the arguments of earth . . .
> And I know that the spirit of God is a brother of my own,
> And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my sisters and lovers,
> And that a kelson of the creation is love."
>
> ("Song of Myself.")

The mystic is aware, not only of his oneness with God, but of oneness with his brethren, or perhaps one ought to say, he is conscious that life is a living organism, in which all the parts, ultimately unified in God, are related to one another. A consciousness of this relationship is also one of the means of realizing the unity of life in God. In the light of this trait of mysticism we seek the meaning of Paul's mystic doctrine of the Church, and of the basis of his general ethics. We are members one of another.

IX

4. A fourth feature or group of features, characteristic of mysticism, may be suggested by the phrase "*newness of life*." Dr. Bucke ("Cosmic Consciousness," Philadelphia, 1901, p. 2) says: "The prime characteristic of cosmic consciousness is a sense of the cosmos—that is, of the life and order of the universe. Along with this, there occurs an intellectual enlightenment which alone would place the individual on a new plane of existence, would make him almost a member of a new species. To this is added a sense of moral elation, an indescribable feeling of elevation, exaltation and joyousness, and a quickening of the moral sense, which is fully as striking and more important than is the enhanced intellectual power. With these come

what may be called a sense of immortality, a consciousness of eternal life, not a conviction that he shall have this, but that he has it already."

Summing up, we have found that there is a well-defined type of mystic consciousness, recognized by modern psychology, and tending in certain philosophical directions. It is complementary to our consciousness of finite things: we realize it by a sort of perception, yet a perception unlike that of the five senses which by their nature, deal with finites. We may call it cosmic consciousness, or a sense of the infinite, an awareness of things as a whole, *simul totum*, or a regarding of the finites in the light of an organic whole. Or we may use a religious term, "Faith." "Faith" in the loftiest sense, is not synonymous with belief in intellectual propositions, still less over-belief, *Aberglaube*, credulous acceptance of dogma without reasonable justification, but rather an intuitive experience of a cosmic aspect of truth, complementary to our ordinary perception of finite forms. It may be regarded as giving us a reliable contribution to our general knowledge of things, and supplies one pole, as it were, for the constitution of truth and reality: without such a unifying aspect the world of finites would ultimately become a number of unintelligible isolations. We should not look upon it as a form of perception altogether separate from that which gives us awareness of finite things, but rather that which accompanies the consciousness of the finites, and is really involved in the presuppositions of our knowledge of the finites, as Hegelian dialectic demonstrates. We are not dealing with two worlds, but two aspects of the one world.

This mystic or cosmic consciousness, with its features of communion with an Oversoul; its sense that the universe, as a unity, is sound and good; its awareness of the relationships and solidarity of life; its consciousness of immortality, and the experience of

newness of life, throws light on most of the main doctrines of St. Paul, and constitutes one of the lasting and important elements of truth in them. We have here, the key to Paul's speculative teaching. His value does not lie in argumentation; he is rather a seer, a visionary with the faculty of cosmic intuition, the content of which he clothes and sets forth under a variety of forms. We understand why he was attracted to certain ideas in contemporary thought and practice, but we must realize that the real significance of their use in Pauline teaching is to be sought in Paul's own mystic experience.

X

We may now return to some of these doctrines of developed Paulinism, prepared to appreciate their psychological truth and spiritual inwardness. Their significance lies *in their Christocentric emphasis, in their witness to the intuitions of religious mysticism and in their witness to an experience of moral salvation and new life.* They may have a Rabbinical, a Hellenistic, or even a Gnostic body,* but a soul of eternal religious intuition and experience.

Let us consider Paul's doctrine of the inward Christ. One source is in the historical person of Jesus of Nazareth. We must never overlook this profound fact. Though Paul gives practically no history of Christ, his identification of Jesus with the Logos, sends us back to the historical figure with a quest of finding in that life and teaching the explanation of such an identification. But while for Paul our Lord was a historical figure, He was much more. He was the Divine with whom one could come in inward spiritual contact. We have the experience of Paul's mystic communion related to Paul's moral and spiritual

* There was a tendency of thought in Paul's age which might be described as Gnostic, whether or no Gnosticism as a definite system had yet emerged.

transformation through Jesus of Nazareth. The latter is transcended in a greater and essentially true conception. Christ is no longer the prophet of Nazareth, but one "closer than breathing and nearer than hands and feet." He is the inward Divine. "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me"—not merely in the sense that the teaching of Christ lives in Paul, or that the influence of Christ's human personality lives in him, but that there is direct immediate contact of Christ and the soul of Paul. We have suggested that the Philonic identification of Hellenistic Logos and personal supernatural mediators may have played some part in this process of thought (see p. 109 *f.*), but the Philonic Logos conception was only applied because there was spiritual experience in Paul's soul to justify it. The spirit which Paul saw in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, and the divine spirit within his own soul, were verily the same; deep answered to deep. The two manifestations were radically identical. There is a certain philosophical justification of such a doctrine. We may think of the one vast ocean of Divine Life, finding conspicuous expression in Jesus of Nazareth, and flooding up also into the little bays and creeks of our several human personalities. Christ thus becomes the Christ of experience.

"Faith"—that term of constantly changing connotation in the New Testament, becomes a name for the soul's experience of communion. Faith in Christ—*i.e.*, intellectual acceptance of his Messiahship, as in the first version of New Testament thought as found in Acts, had first grown into a more elaborate "gnosis" rich in suggestive, mystical elements, and then deepened into a movement of the whole personality—Faith *into* Christ, a communion of soul and Oversoul, a meeting of spirit with Spirit. We need to recollect this especially when we consider the doctrine of Salvation by Faith.

XI

This doctrine of the inward Christ leads Paul to a doctrine of Revelation, towards which, however, we are compelled to adopt a more critical attitude. To Paul, Jesus in the flesh was to some extent a fading figure, One concerning whom he could speak with less authority than the personal disciples, Peter, James, and John; but Christ in the soul, Christ the inward Divine, might be directly experienced by St. Paul. He could speak of such an inward Christ with first-hand authority. Though probably Paul had never seen Jesus in the flesh, he claimed direct revelations. His doctrine of the Eucharist, in some major details different from that of the original Supper, he claims "to have received from the Lord.' He has a doctrine of esoteric illumination or gnosis, and may receive in some direct or immediate way truths undiscoverable by mere reason, and unknown to the ordinary man, and even to the world rulers of darkness (1 Cor. ii. 8).

But we must regard these claims with a certain caution. The mind seems capable of intensifying and developing in some subliminal process, hints given to it in a much less impressive conscious mood. Much of our mental life seems to develop underground. "We learn swimming during the winter, and skating during the summer." We think a thought, and later it comes back to us with an ease and intensity which may surprise us. People with a visionary temperament as St. Paul's was, probably have this experience in marked degree with visible and audible accompaniments (*vide* the Conversion experience of St. Paul). We have illustrations in the lives of the mystic saints. St. Ignatius Loyola testifies to "revelations." He tells us that his spirit was ravished in God during a church procession, and it was given to him to contemplate in a form and in images fitted to the weak understanding of a dweller upon earth, the deep mystery of the Holy

Trinity. Similarly, St. Teresa, not only grasps the truth of the Athanasian Creed in a vision; she also understands in what wise the Mother of God assumed her place in the heavens. Or again, George Fox felt himself directed by the Lord to tilt against the churches or "steeple-houses" as he contemptuously called them. Obviously, in all these cases, the visionaries unconsciously projected the ideas held in their ordinary consciousness into impressive so-called "revelation." St. Ignatius owed his conception of the Trinity, and St. Teresa her doctrine of the Virgin, to ecclesiastical training. Such "revealed truths" appear, indeed, to be due simply to an illumination in the bright light of ecstasy of what is normally held in the grey of conscious thought.

Nor, again, do we get unanimity in the content of this kind of revelation. We cannot imagine the Catholic saint having George Fox's hatred of "steeple-houses"; nor can we imagine the good Quaker receiving from the Lord the revelation of the exaltation into heaven of the Virgin Mother, as St. Teresa received it. The emotional glow of religious visionaries has given a false sanction to much religious absurdity and fanaticism. It has often allied itself with ignorance and arrogance. Should we care to endorse all that the Quakers—the finest of mystics—felt had been revealed to them by the "Inward Light"? True revelation is the product of much more than simple emotional illumination. Doctrines are not delivered ready-made into our minds. They are the outcome of much observation, experience, and reason. Our beliefs cannot be held simply on the supposed authority of an emotion, or mystic experience; they must answer the tests of coherence with the rest of our knowledge and experience. Revelation is another name for "religious discovery," and religious discovery follows the lines and must submit to the tests of reason and consistency applied to other human discovery. It comes

to us like all other knowledge, in part, and often mingled with error. Its forms may have to be recast with the coming of other associated knowledge. It is dependent in some degree upon the stage of progress of knowledge in general. The Spirit of Truth will lead men into all truth, but not all at once. The light of God comes to us as we are able to bear it. It is not delivered into our minds suddenly and miraculously in infallible mystic revelations.*

But although we may be dubious of the Pauline doctrine of mystic revelation, we will accept the valuable suggestion that Christianity is not a fixed, stereotyped thing. Its *revelation is progressive*. Christ still speaks throughout the ages of the world's life in the appeal of all that is pure and true and honourable, and of good report in our unfolding human knowledge and experience. "Whatever wakes my heart and mind, Thy presence is, O Lord." Or more generally, in this doctrine of Christ as inward Revealer we have a witness to the *inwardness* of religion, to the seat of judgment and authority which must be sought within the soul. Paulinism supports that view of religion as an inward faculty to be stimulated and developed rather than something to be introduced from external sources. Faith, like Truth, "is within ourselves. It takes no rise from outward things." The process of religion is "to allow an imprisoned splendour to escape rather than to afford an entry to a light supposed to be without."

* A distinction must be drawn between *true* mysticism, or cosmic consciousness, the *simul-totum* sense, which has a universal occurrence and a reference in some form to the "infinite" aspects of life, and a *false* mysticism, individualistic in character, with a content suggesting the subject's previous training, desires or argued-out conclusions, such as is described above.

XII

Paul's Doctrine of Salvation

Here we come to Paul's central doctrine. The idea of salvation was even preliminary to the doctrine of Christ. Paul's great theme was Atonement—that of the Fourth Evangelist, the Incarnation. Paul's doctrine of the person of Christ followed from that of Salvation, and was to be regarded in the light of it. "The apostle had not reached a conception of Christ as a detached object of doctrine without reference to his significance for the world. Paul's essential thought of him is simply this, that he is the Redeemer" (Wrede, "Paul," p. 86).

Salvation was the quest of Paul's time. The term had a varying content—deliverance from the ills and sorrows and fears of life, and since these were conceived as signs of God's displeasure, and were associated with moral impotence and unrest of soul, salvation came to be conceived also as deliverance from sin and estrangement from God. The idea of some kind of deliverance gave attraction and strength to the Mysteries. The Jewish search was for a sense of rightness with God—Justification. Paul's own soul craved for a release from the body of this death.

Associated, although in some way distinct, were the ideas of Apocalyptic Salvation and the doctrine of the Two Ages. The present order was evil, but the Day of the Lord should bring apocalyptic deliverance; the Messiah should come as a heavenly being upon the clouds, and, acting as representative of the Almighty, should judge the nations, establish a Millennium of blessedness for the saints, and bring to naught the adversaries of his kingdom. But while this general apocalyptic background with its idea of the Two Ages, remains for Paul, the ideas of the Messianic process tend to pass from the Parousial Salvation to a sacri-

ficial act on the part of Jesus which releases the world from its tyranny of demon-rule. Paul's "developed doctrine of the evil age, of man and his sin, the world and its bondage, the Redeemer and redemption carry us outside the circle of apocalyptic ideas" (Morgan, "Religion and Theology of Paul," p. 16).

Paul conceived that the miseries of the world were due to the fact that the world since Adam had been under the domination of evil spirit principalities and powers. Wrede claims that Paul had personalized what, to us, would be at the utmost personifications, and that Flesh, Sin, the Law and Death had materialized for him into hostile elemental spirits (p. 92). They represented shadowy gods or demons of ancient Babylonian or Persian myth. The Flesh, Sin, Law and Death play into one another's hands, with wretched man as their toy. Who shall deliver man from the bondage of these world rulers of darkness? and how?

From the supernatural world comes one who "was found in appearance as a man" . . . "in the form of sinful flesh." He submits to the limitations of humanity; He passes under the dominion of the world rulers of darkness, though retaining, for the moment concealed, certain powers pertaining to Him as the supernatural Son of God. These are hidden from the evil principalities, and unwittingly they make for their own undoing by crucifying Him. Death has exacted its penalty from Him, but being more than man He rises from the dead, and emerges as the personal conqueror of these elemental powers of darkness.

But what of the rest of the race? Christ and His elect are so united that His transaction benefits them. They share His conquest. The spell is broken. The curse which has weighed upon mankind since Adam has lost its power. For the time being, during the interval between Christ's death and resurrection and the death of the individual elect or the return of Christ in glory, the world rulers preserve a semblance of their

power, but the rule is no longer rigid, tyrannical and hopeless. Men have experience of deliverance from sin and the Law which gives it its sting, and physical death will only release the saints from the last shred of bondage—where then is the victory of the grave? A new force has come into life—the Spirit. "Its sway shows itself in the miraculous powers and gifts which are daily to be seen in the life of the communities; in the power to heal the sick, in prophecy which surprises the secrets of the future, in the speaking with tongues, where it is visibly not the man himself but another being working through him which speaks, sighs and cries Abba, Father . . . it manifests itself in all that makes against sin, in every good and moral work, in peace, joy and the assurance of faith" (Wrede, p. 109), but Wrede warns us against regarding Paul's conception of the Spirit as a moral force penetrating personality, engendering that which is good in the heart of man, as is our modern idea of the Spirit.

In outward form all this is nothing other than a version of Gnosticism, scarcely less fantastic than the developed forms of that movement which became familiar later. Its sources are the same; it belongs to the type of apocalyptic. In its idea of Adam's sin, it enters into Rabbinical tradition. The conception of the demonic sway comes from Persian theosophies; the general scheme has parallels in the Hermetic literature. In the Definitions of Asklepios to King Ammon, it is stated that the soul's rational part is above the lordship of the daimons, and if a ray of light enters the soul, the daimons cannot act upon it; all other men are led or driven by the daimons who hold the world in a sad bondage. Paul's theory has features of crudeness and even of non-ethical and mechanical process which suggests magic rather than the behaviour of moral personality. There is a suspicion of the same strain in Paul's sacramentalism.

But all this scheme which no modern mind can take literally or in its entirety, is but *an outward expression in contemporary terms, of inward spiritual experiences which belong to another region and possess permanent validity and significance.* The crude explanation was given because there was something to be explained. We must return from apocalyptic form to its "prophetic" basis of spiritual experience. It is clear that Paul is testifying to some very real and vital experience of moral emancipation and new life.

XIII

This salvation is significantly associated with Jesus of Nazareth. In the experiences of men He had in some way wrought a transformation. This is the fundamental fact to be examined and explained; the truth to which all soteriological schemes of the Church, however bizarre and unconvincing they may seem, bear witness.

This process was realized before the Pauline scheme was devised to explain it, and even before the death and resurrection of Christ. It is to be seen in the moral transformations of the days of Christ's flesh, in the Magdalene, in Zacchaeus, in the disciples themselves. Its secret lay in a personality and the teaching of a new attitude towards life. Its statement was in the Sermon on the Mount, with its great thoughts of humble trust in God as Father, sincerity, mercy, overcoming evil with good, respect for personality, the seeking first of the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. This spirit was embodied in the Lord's own life of mercy, courage, faith, hope and charity, a confidence in the sinful and broken, a gracious fraternizing with publicans and sinners. The doctrine of the love of God, the comradeship of man, the worth of human personality, the spirit of service—this intelligible and practical gospel can carry us far in explaining the mind

and methods of Jesus as Saviour. It is an evangel which still has potency, as modern missionary annals have abundantly proved.

One confesses that the element of "suggestion" also enters in many cases of conversion and moral transformation, and more doctrinal evangels have been appealing and efficacious for this purpose; but fundamentally these have had their potency in bringing home the Galilee gospel of the love of God and the infinite worth of human personality in His sight. We have come to think in terms of personality, and to account for mental and moral phenomena by laws of personality, and our doctrine of salvation must be set in these terms.

XIV

Levitical Salvation

But we have to reckon with another view—that which we may designate as Levitical, which subordinates the ethical to the mechanical, the spiritual to the magic, the processes of personality to those of mysterious supernatural "physics." In the Levitical system, the nation's sins were transformed to the scapegoat which was then sent out into the wilderness as an offering to the demon Azazel. With some peoples it was the custom to wash off the unclean thing into pools, or it could be incanted into cargoes of wheat which might then be sold to unsuspecting foreigners! Even when ethical ideas had developed, this circle of thought persisted with them side by side. When a man has sinned, it is not enough for him to repent; over and above, a change of heart and repentance, there remains a material guilt residuum which must be treated in some appropriate ritual and sacrificial way.

But this doctrine in general rests upon an entirely unscientific way of looking upon sin as a kind of material. Sin is really a state of mind, a wrong mental condition.

The way of curing it is to make the mental attitude right. Flood a room with light—there is no need to incant the residuum darkness away. When the lad has learnt his lesson, the schoolmaster has no need to exorcise the residuum ignorance; make a man healthy—we have not to ask what has become of his former pain. Disease, ignorance, darkness, sin, are states, not materials. If we can change the state, we have no need to concern ourselves with the material residuum. Against this "Levitical" tendency, we find the eighth century Hebrew prophets "do not recognize the need of any means of reconciliation with God after estrangement by sin other than repentance" (Amos v. 22-4; Hos. xiv. 2; Is. i. 13-17; Mic. vi. 6-8).

But the Levitical ideas persisted even if their expression became more refined. When, in the period of the exile, material Temple sacrifices could no longer be offered for propitiation to God, or satisfaction to evil spirits, there was a tendency to find substitutes in prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and especially in the sufferings of the righteous. The griefs and pains of the despised and rejected "Servant of Jahweh" (Is. liii.), could be so regarded. One of seven brothers during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, prays that "in me and in my brothers, the wrath of the Almighty may be appeased" (2 Mac. vii. 38). 4 Mac. vi. 29 gives the prayer, "Let my blood serve for purification, and as equivalent for their life take my own." This line of thought, we may suppose, seemed to throw light on the problem of the ignominious death of Jesus, in the minds of the early Christian Church. At first, possibly the passage from Isaiah would be noted as a subtle "identification mark" to prove the Messiahship of Jesus, without any special working out of the doctrine implied, but when more speculative minds like Paul's began to work on the problems of faith, such a passage could hardly be ignored. Christ in some way was through His sufferings and death an "offering

for sin." Leviticism must be brought in again, and interpreted in the light of contemporary gnostic speculation.

XV

In the Synoptic Gospels there is little or nothing of this type of speculation. We have a return to the spirit of the eighth-century prophets. Jesus does not appear to have ever taught that reconciliation depended upon a propitiation to God wrought by His own death, although He did teach that spiritual ministration involved suffering and sacrifice, so that His death, figuratively speaking, might be regarded as "a ransom for many." Jesus is described as Saviour in the early speeches of Acts, but it is in the sense that He "gives repentance to Israel and remission of sins" (v. 31), *i.e.*, Christ is able to bring about a change in the hearts of men, and in accordance with prophetic teaching, pardon follows repentance (*cf.* the preaching of John the Baptist as that "of repentance and remission of sins"). The reconciling work of Jesus was directed, not towards God, but towards men, bringing about in them a repentance which made possible their harmonious relations with the Father, but we hesitate to accept the interpretation of the death of Jesus as of the nature of an exalted Levitical blood sacrifice; we cannot be satisfied with the presentation of an angry God who needs compensation or mollifying gift before He will turn away the fierceness of His anger; still less can we regard it as a subtle transaction with the world powers of darkness, whereby they are outwitted in a way that invites comparison with the legend of the Devil's Bridge at Andermatt or with the Lancashire tale of Dule upo' Dun!

The rejection of such a transactional interpretation of the death of Jesus does not mean that it had no significance for the purpose of salvation. The Cross of Christ retains its glory. If our Lord had been willing

to keep His healing message to Himself, to leave His great words unsaid, to accommodate Himself to the traditions of His own age, to avoid collision with Pharisees and scribes, to take the conventional attitude towards the world's outcasts, the publicans and sinners, there would have been no final tragedy on Calvary. The historical causes of Christ's violent death are obvious. If He had lowered His witness and idealism He would have avoided the Cross, but there would have been no raising of the world to God. *We may look upon the sufferings and death of Jesus as involved in the sacrificial law of progress.* The alternative to the conception of a static, formless, meaningless God is that of an active Divine Spirit, manifesting itself, showing its nature by encountering and overcoming a cosmic opposition. God would mean nothing to us if God had nothing to do. Character has no significance without the challenge of opposition. If it were as easy to rise as to fall, virtue would be unintelligible. But Nature is so planned that it demands a purchase price for its gifts. "Every good has its birth of pain," and because of this, moral life gains a meaning which it would not otherwise have. *Could we have realized the courage, the virtue, the Divine in Jesus, had there been no pain or sacrifice to measure the holy passion and steady determination of His soul?* We know His love, because there was a *price* of love to be paid.

This doctrine of the Atonement makes the death of Jesus, neither propitiation to God nor sacrifice to devils. It is akin, however, to the theories of "satisfaction," although what is "satisfied" is not God's majesty or His justice but His *scheme of manifestation by means of which He expresses in necessary conditions of limitation, what He is.*

Further, in virtue of race solidarity, sacrifice has a vicarious element, to be distinguished, however, from a penal or forensic element. If a man sins he involves others in the consequences. He pulls back the upward

movement of the race, and greater must be the sacrifices of others in order to uplift the set-back world. In this sense, the sins of His generation brought Jesus to the Cross. He hung there, a victim of a hypocritical, darkness-loving generation. But there is a gracious converse. The consequences of the life and actions of a noble soul go out beyond himself. The personal conquest of Jesus lifted up a multitude of other men with Him. The world was raised to higher conceptions of life and duty. By His teaching and inspiration, men were delivered from the folly of ignorance and the tyranny of lower nature. By His stripes we are healed.

By this sketch of a " prophetic " view of the redeeming values of the death of Jesus, it will be realized at how many points the soteriological scheme of Paul came near to truths based upon the working of moral law. These are " spiritualized " meanings which modern preaching has read into Paulinism. But it must be confessed that Paul's soteriological scheme belonged to another world of thought, that it was the nearest approach possible to him of a scientific explanation of an experience of moral liberation, although it cannot so be accepted by us. But we must distinguish between the experience and the explanation. The significance of Paul lies in the former, not in the latter. *The strange scheme bears witness to a transforming moral and spiritual influence proceeding from the historical Jesus of Nazareth.* At any rate, that is part of its significance.

XVI

Mysticism and Salvation

The other part of the significance is to be sought in Paul's Christian Mysticism. In order that the believer may benefit by the personal conquest over the evil principalities and powers wrought by Christ, he

must become united in some way to Him. Here we approach the *mystic tradition of salvation by assimilation with the life of the Deity.* A higher idea of communion than that of physical contact becomes conceived, although the ghost of the old theory walks in the cruder doctrines of sacramentalism. One may suspect it even in Paul and John, side by side with a higher ethical doctrine of communion.

The object of the Mysteries, as we have seen, was a salvation from a meaner, feebler and more troubled life into a new rich Divine existence. The general theory of such salvation was that the soul could be somehow brought into contact and communion with the Oversoul. The human soul could be temporarily detached from the Oversoul, and thereby lose some of its powers and strength, just as a meteorite, though of the substance of the planet, loses in its detached condition, certain qualities of the planet. It cannot exert the planet's power of gravity or retain the planet's atmosphere. Deliverance from sin, weakness, mortality, error, must therefore be brought about by re-establishing the union between the individual soul and the larger Divine life. The general teaching of Stoicism was that " man in his individual life may lift himself above all that limits and thwarts him, and realize his identity with the Logos who resides in his own soul, and is also the governing principle of the world " (E. F. Scott).

XVII

How should this contact and communion be effected? There were various suggestions. There were attempts to hypnotize men into new life, through the power of music and suggestion. " The purgative power of music," says Burnet (" From Thales to Plato," p. 41), " was fully recognized in the psycho-therapy of those

days. It originated in the practice of the Korybantic priests who treated nervous and hysterical patients by wild pipe music, thus exciting them to a pitch of exhaustion which was followed in turn by a healthy sleep from which the patient awoke cured" (*cf.* Art. "Tarantula," *Ency. Brit.*, 11th edition). Others considered that intellectual study was a better soul purge. In the "Phaedo," Socrates quotes a saying that "Philosophy is the highest music"—that is, it is a better means of purifying the soul than the hypnotism of music.

The method of hypnotism and "suggestion" was employed by the Mysteries. A score of rites had one underlying idea—that of communion or assimilation with the god, with a new, free, immortal life following. Mystic marriage, baptism, the wearing of the masks of the gods, the eating and drinking of the sacred meal, the re-enactment of the life of the gods that died and rose again—all witnessed to the one idea of the communion with the divine, and a sharing of the divine life. "Sympathetic" magic and nature mysticism mingled in the practices, but higher significance and ethical purification might follow in the case of the higher Mysteries.

But *the development of intellectual, ethical and spiritual life was the truest and noblest method of being lifted up into the Divine.* Heraclitus pointed out that in sleep and intoxication men created worlds of their own. The sober, wakeful, self-controlled life brought one into the world of intellectual harmony. The Jewish Alexandrian "Wisdom of Solomon," taught that through "Wisdom," the indwelling Divine, men are saved (ix. 18). She will not enter into a soul that deviseth evil (i. 4), but passing from generation to generation into holy souls, she maketh men friends of God and prophets (viii. 27). Friendship with her is immortality (vii. 17; xv. 3). According to Philo, the growth of man's higher nature leads to the subjection of the

body and to "participation in the incorruptible and incorporeal life with Him who is unbegotten and incorporeal."

XVIII

We may now return to Paul's doctrine of Salvation. He, too, as we have seen, conceived that salvation was to be effected by communion with the Divine. Man was to become one with Christ in mystic union. His own experience underlay his doctrine. He was in union with Christ and all things had become new to him. A new strength, peace and joy had entered his life. The inspiration of his regeneration, the secret of its permanence lay in this mystic union. He had found that while in the Old Testament code he had something good in itself, he missed the inward dynamic which had come to him through the inspirational, mystic fellowship with the Divine. His motive was no longer the religious selfishness of the Pharisees who did good works in order to purchase heaven. He had opened out a spring of inspiration within his own personality. He had found a spiritual "Life Urge" which pressed him forth to a life of righteous action and service. Spiritual spontaneity took the place of calculated purchase of heaven, for his motive. Hence his stress upon faith—mystic communion with the Divine—rather than upon works. The greater would cover the less. The fruits of the spirit included all the practical goodness which the Pharisees stressed, but the element of religious commercial calculation, which destroyed the spiritual quality of the Pharisees' righteousness, was gone. The secret of true righteousness, justification, purification, was mystic communion with Christ. This was salvation by "faith *into* Christ."

This mode of salvation by union with a Logos Christ is to be distinguished from the superficially similar transfer of griefs and pains to some other being who will bear them in our stead—an idea arising "from

the very obvious confusion between the physical and mental. Because it is possible to transfer a load of wood, stones and what not from our own back to the back of another, the savage fancies it possible to transfer the burden of his pains and sorrows to another who will bear them in his stead " (Frazer). We must also distinguish this doctrine from that of transfer of merit. The merit of Jesus is not transferred to men; the process is that the believer becomes absorbed, as it were, into the larger unit of the Logos Christ. This is the significance of the fact that " Paul never speaks of Christ's righteousness being imputed to us, but only of the righteousness of God becoming ours through Christ " (2 Cor. v. 21; Phil. iii. 9) (Pfleiderer).

Wrede is hardly specific enough in his statement (" Paul," p. 81), that to Paul's thought " that which happens to the first of a historical series happens in consequence to the whole series. . . . Since Adam dies, all who belong to his race die. Christ is again the first of the series. Therefore, since He arises from the dead, all rise with Him—simply on that account." The Rabbinical doctrine which came to prevail concerning Adam's sin, was that the children of Adam fell under his curse because each individual by the infection of precedent sinned, and thus fell under Adam's penalty of bondage to the world rulers of darkness. The curse persisted, because each individual did something further to draw it upon himself. So if the Christian individual must profit by the victory and redemption wrought by Christ, he also must do something personally to effect the necessary union with Christ. Paul may speak somewhat inconsistently on this point; he suggests at times a predestinarianism which, if pressed, might make superfluous any kind of action on the human side, ethical or ritual, to obtain salvation. " The apostle occupies a strongly predestinarian standpoint. Those who are 'called' inevitably receive salvation; those who are not, can never in any way obtain it. . . .

Paul's predestinarianism is absolute, and seems inevitably to abolish' even the necessity of sacraments" (Schweitzer, "Paul and His Interpreters," pp. 215-16). But more generally, Paul's scheme involves certain factors to establish that union with Christ which means the sharing of His triumph and freedom.

XIX

Paul conceives that one of these factors is *Faith*. The "prophetic" idea of Faith—a more or less modern conception—is the body of scientific theological thought based on primary spiritual intuitions of communion with God, optimism, sense of immortality and the like, and the observation of moral law and the experience of spiritual life. In as far as these serve as a stimulus to further religious feeling and experience, we may speak of a salvation by such Faith. But with Paul, Faith begins as a gnosis, supernaturally revealed to man. It partakes of the nature of an intellectual process, for it can be stated in language and accepted as men accept scientific or philosophical results. As a matter of fact, we conceive that its real nature is nothing other than disguised theological speculation. It is, in its first stage, not an unspeakable mystic experience, but a set of definite theosophical statements—Jesus is Messiah and Saviour, and this is the method of His salvation. This is the Mystery, the gnosis, the wisdom of God. On the other hand, for the individual believer, "faith" is really non-intellectual. It is not gained by intellectual processes, by the working of the mind, by discursive reason. It is imparted by its own method to men cast into such temperament as to receive it. Such "faith" is not so much spiritual as theosophical and occult. It is not a rational inference from facts, an arguing from the seen to the unseen; it is quite removed from the "faith of science." Its nature is best apprehended by analogy with the

faith or gnosis of the gnostics, or with the "revelations" of modern theosophy. It is hidden, not only from the wise and prudent among men, but even from the supernatural elemental "principalities and powers," or they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.

But even as gnosis had a double meaning in Gnosticism—an occult knowledge about God, and a mystic communion with Him, so "Faith" in Paulinism had a similar double meaning; faith in an apocalyptic scheme *about* Christ was conceived to lead up to faith *into* Christ, a mystic assimilation with Him. Faith, as a semi-intellectual consent, was parallel in function to the sacraments—all these led to a sense of unity with Christ, an impartation of the Spirit, resulting in joy, peace, triumph, newness of life. For presently, Paul found a new significance in the rite of Baptism, in the custom of the Church Meal, in the idea of the Church itself, suggesting an assimilation with Deity, as we shall see later. Physical processes suggested a union semi-physical, semi-spiritual in nature. The line is not clearly drawn, either in "Paul" or in the "Fourth Gospel" (see E. F. Scott, p. 290). Probably whatever suggests physical union with Deity also tends to stimulate a spiritual communion and ethical harmony.

XX

But *the main and central element in this purification and regeneration is none other than the plain, direct spiritual and ethical influence of Jesus of Nazareth upon the souls of men. It is the "washing of water by the word"* (Eph. v. 26). It is His way of life that leads men to that true mystic union with the Divine, which is the heart of personal religion, and the source of new life, joy, peace and strength. This, we contend, is the true explanation of Paul's mysticism and regenerated life. His epistles are full of that spiritual and ethical tradition which comes from the Sermon on the Mount

—by far, the most significant and permanent element in Paul's writings—and living with that spirit he had found his soul, as all men must who live under the inspiration of Jesus, and finding his soul, he had found God within it. He realized his kinship with the Divine. He knew that there was that within him which belonged to the Eternal. A pure ethical and spiritual mysticism was at once, the result of the message of Jesus, and the power which confirmed and maintained the gospel of Galilee, and thrilled and energized Paul's personality to its fullest breadth and depth. Here we have returned to the permanent elements in Paulinism—to the Faith and Hope and Love which abide when Pauline theory and speculation have had their day and ceased to be.

CHAPTER VI

THE MYSTIC FACTOR IN PAUL'S DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH, THE SACRAMENTS AND ETERNAL LIFE

Further use of the key of Mysticism for the understanding of Paul's doctrines—The Church—Its natural rise and development—Gradual self-realization of the Church as a mystic Body—Paul's identification of the Church with the Logos Christ—The Church as a mystic fellowship helps us to understand sacramentalism—Baptism—Views on the operation and nature of the Pauline rite—Kirsopp Lake—Wernle—Weinel—Heitmüller—Wrede—Schweitzer—Examination of specific Pauline passages—No clear evidence that Paul attached an *ex opere operato* significance to baptism—The history of the rite—Its magical, symbolical, and mystical stages—Its origins in "sympathetic magic"—Symbol act of repentance—Sign of entry into a new order—A rite of assimilation—The theory of the Mysteries—Baptism, not an isolated act, but an integral part of a mystic Church life—The Eucharist—The two traditions of the last meal—The original tradition "parabolically" intelligible—The Pauline "revealed" tradition—Commemorative and assimilative nature of Paul's Eucharist—Mystery parallels—Specific passages—If there should be any *ex opere operato* element in Paul's thought (which is by no means certain), it is secondary, unimportant, and inconsistent with his central teaching—A conception of the Eucharist as an exercise of mysticism—The experience of the Church coming to a focus—Elements of "suggestion"—Value of the Pauline Eucharist—Faith-gnosis—A further "suggestive" element in Paulinism—The Pauline "mystery"; another name for faith-gnosis—While there may be many means of inducing mysticism, they differ in their value and lead to different qualities of mystic experience—Spiritual and ethical purity; the path to the noblest mysticism—Other Pauline expressions of mysticism—Social organic unity—This underlies the theory of the Church, provides the basis for Christian ethics, and encourages religious universalism—Optimism in Paul's Christian life—Energizing result of union with Christ—Paul, the practical mystic—Eternal Life—A doctrine of immortality must obviously rest upon a cosmic intuition—An argument for eternal individuality—The constitution of the universe—The Many in the One—Obversely, the One must ever be in the Many, and eternally individuality will be the complement of unity—Stages of Paul's eschatological belief—The grounds for eternal life are found in mystic union with Christ.

I

The Rise of the Church

It is most natural to suppose that the Christian Church originated in simple fashion as the outcome of that common social tendency which makes like-minded men gather and continue in a corporate union or fellowship. We have no need to conceive a mysterious and unique supernatural institution of the Church, except in the sense that man has been created with certain social instincts and certain spiritual needs which the Church has helped to satisfy. The Church is a necessary institution for man as God has made him. God created the Church through creating man with the need of the Church. The "supernaturalism" must be sought in the very nature of human personality—not in the direct delivery from heaven of an organization, a divine pattern and constitution. Inasmuch as human personality has been ordained of God with certain features, instincts and wants, so an institution arising from the spiritual and social workings of that personality, expressing its needs and satisfying its cravings, may be regarded as meant by Divine plan to evolve in the natural development of human life. Only in this sense, may we speak of the Divine institution of the Church.

But on the external side, the rise of the Church, we conceive, was simple. The early Christians formed a natural society or ecclesia. Common interests, aims, and a desire for fellowship gathered them together. The ecclesia thus formed, grew naturally in doctrine, in organization, in self-realization. The great and significant fact was a spiritual passion centred upon the person and gospel of Christ, but this newly born movement had slowly and experimentally to find its suitable forms of thought and constitution. There was no ready-made and eternal doctrine delivered to the Church. Faith had to grow through experience and

reflection. The ecclesia organized itself as its practical life revealed its needs. It did not emerge with a permanent constitution, Divinely bestowed. It knew no "pattern on the Mount." In like fashion, there was development in the self-realization of the Church, even in New Testament times. Just as a variety of human experiences transform a house into a home, and acquaintance grows into sacramental friendship, and association into holy fellowship, so the Church, from being a mere society, developed into a holy company with a community soul. It gained sacramental values. It became a holy trysting-place, a home for devout souls: the Shekinah of spiritual experience played within its walls: its Agapes became Eucharists, and it revealed itself as a Temple of the Holy Ghost. Two or three gathered together in the Divine Name—that was the ecclesia or "society" stage: Christ came and dwelt in the midst of them—and the society, the ecclesia, became thus transfigured into a mystic, sacramental Church.

Thus Paul came to speak of the Church as a spiritual building, a Temple of the Holy Spirit of which the Christian members were parts (Eph. ii. 20-22). The Church is a body of which the individual members are limbs and organs (Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 12 *ff.*). These figures might only be natural and appropriate metaphors expressing the social unity of the Church, but in Ephesians and Colossians, there appears the more definitely mystical idea of the members of the Church as parts of the Body of Christ (Eph. i. 33; iv. 12; v. 23; Col. i. 18-24; ii. 19), or of the mystic Body of which He is the Head—"The Head, from whom the whole body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God" (Col. ii. 19).* The mystic idea of

* Dr. Morgan ("Religion and Theology of St. Paul," p. 203) claims that "there is nothing to show that in the epistles of unquestionable genuineness, Paul carries over the idea of a mystical union

marriage—a feature of contemporary mystic cults (see Peake's "Comm." on Eph. v. 26)—is introduced under the figure of the Church as the Bride of Christ.

There were special reasons why Paul should exalt the Church, and find supernatural values attaching to its membership—for instance, "it was only by treating the Ecclesia as the spiritual Israel, that Paul could recognize Gentiles as inheritors of the prophecies" (Rashdall, "Idea of Atonement," p. 486), but the specific mystic language bore witness to a mystic experience which it is not difficult for us to understand. Paul had found, we conceive, in united worship and fellowship, that feeling of uplift, transformation of personality, spiritual ecstasy and communion, which had characterized his mystic moods of union with the Logos Christ. He identifies the Logos Christ with the Church—another instance of Paul's tendency to identify essentially diverse ideas on the strength of a common point of resemblance.

II

The Sacraments

There are important corollaries. The Baptism by which the believer enters the Church, is an introduction into a new life of mystic communion. It does not stand alone as an isolated act. There enters into its significance the mysticism of the Church community life, to which it is an introduction, and the salvation of the life in Christ, with which, to Paul, the Church idea is bound up. In Baptism, all that the Church

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from the individual believer to the Church as an institution. In these, the Church has not yet become an object of speculative interest." To reach this conclusion, Dr. Morgan has to reject the authenticity of Ephesians (on the question of the authenticity of Ephesians, see Dr. Peake, "Comm.," p. 815), and to exclude a development, which to one of Paul's mystic temperament and habits of thought would be a natural one.

has come to mean, is symbolized. Once again, the spiritual life of the Church reaches its mystical culmination in the solemn Eucharist. This experience of mystic exaltation gives the rite its quality and worth. It is pre-eminently the Communion Meal. According to the theories of the pagan Mysteries, communion meals signify the lifting up of the worshipper into the Divine life. This, too, shall be the significance of the Christian Meal of the Church, which is the mystic Body of Christ. We believe that the key of interpretation of the Christian sacraments, must thus be found in the mystic experience of solemn Church Fellowship.

III

The alternative interpretation of the sacraments finds them effecting a result by their own inherent power, by a process akin to magic. Their value is not symbolic of a spiritual process which might take place apart from material or physical agency. Nor even is their operation to be explained by laws of mental "suggestion." They are intrinsically operative, like some chemical or physical process. They impart Spirit which is materially or physically conceived—a psychic substance, rather than a condition or setting of personality. Or the spiritual action in the realm of personality synchronizes with the physical action of the rite, and in some subtle way depends upon it. The spiritual process could not take place without the physical action. That this was how Paul conceived sacramental operation is emphatically claimed by many modern scholars. Kirsopp Lake (*E.R.E.*, vol. ii., p. 282) states—"The Pauline doctrine of Baptism is that, on the positive side, it gives the Christian, union with Christ, which may also be described as an inspiration with the Holy Spirit, while, on the negative side, it cleanses from sin. This it accomplishes by the power of the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the sacra-

mental effect of the water, according to the well-known idea that results could be reached in the unseen spiritual world by the performance of analogous acts in the visible material world. Baptism is regarded as really giving these results, and not merely as a sign that they have been or can be attained in some other way." Similarly, Wernle remarks with regret that the cultus acts have in Paul a much greater importance than one would be inclined to expect, and that in certain passages he tolerates and even suggests "pagan" views. Weinel is obliged to admit that alongside of the religion of inwardness which he has discovered in the apostle's teaching, a sacramental religion which is inherently opposed to it, from time to time appears. "Sometimes," he writes, "it is Faith that brings the Spirit: sometimes Baptism: sometimes it is Faith which unites with Christ: sometimes the Lord's Supper. Heitmüller ('Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus') claims that the mystical connexion which, in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is set up between the believer and Christ, is a physico-hyper-physical one, and has as its consequence that the believer shares *realiter* in the death and resurrection of Christ. Heitmüller confesses, however, that these views of Baptism and the Lord's Supper stand in unreconciled and unreconcilable opposition to the central significance of faith for Pauline Christianity" (Schweitzer). Wrede ("Paul," Eng. trans., p. 120, *cf.* 103) remarks—"The rude massive views, even we must say the superstition and magic of popular religion, are by no means foreign to Paul. His ideas of the sacred acts of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which, moreover, are not of his creation, were in no wise merely spiritual or symbolic. He certainly can and does find symbols in them, but it is equally certain that they are to him in their own nature, real sacraments—that is, acts which are intrinsically operative, without the sensibilities and sentiments of the person coming into account. It is a very significant

fact that he is not repelled by the custom of baptizing living Christians as substitutes for the dead, in order to extend to them after death the blessings of baptism, and especially to ensure to them the resurrection: he even derives an argument for the resurrection from it (1 Cor. xv. 29). Such is also the idea that the unworthy eating and drinking at the Lord's Supper brings about by a purely magical operation, sickness and even death (1 Cor. xi. 30), or that the solemn banning of a sinner will result in his bodily destruction (1 Cor. v. 5)." Schweitzer's theory of apocalyptic Baptism, without Mystery influence ("Paul and His Interpreters," p. 225), minimizes even further the ethical element in the Pauline rite. "In Paul, it is not a question of an act which the believer accomplishes in himself: what happens is that in the moment when he receives baptism, the dying and rising again of Christ takes place within him without any co-operation or exercise of will or thought on his part. It is like a mechanical process which is set in motion by pressing a spring."

IV

We are not prepared to claim that Paul could not have been affected by superstitious considerations. Strong and sane personalities have often curiously betrayed weaknesses of this kind (*e.g.*, Dr. Johnson, uncomfortable unless he touched certain posts in his daily walk). We remember, too, that Paul belonged to a people attaching superstitious regard to the pronouncement of the name Jahweh, and was a member of a Christian Church which conceived that miracles could be wrought "in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth" (Acts iii. 6, 16). At Ephesus, Jewish exorcists took upon them to name over them which had evil spirits, the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, saying, "I adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth," with disastrous personal consequences (Acts xix. 13-18).

This incident and the effect which it had upon the community, are respectfully recorded by the Christian historian. It is quite possible that a strain of superstition was to be found even in Paul.

On the other hand, Kennedy has large justification for saying ("Paul and the Mystery Religions," p. 234) —"We venture to think that one of the chief impressions left upon the careful reader of the epistles, must be that of the apostle's detachment from ritual in every shape and form. . . . In the entire epistle to the Romans, that document in which he sets forth and defends his own conceptions of Christianity, only once does Baptism enter his mind (vi. 3) and the Lord's Supper not even once."

Moreover, one must take into account the fact that the results supposed to be effected by the intrinsic operation of the sacraments could apparently be produced in other ways. According to the Book of Acts, the Spirit descends independently of sacramental act: it may precede Baptism: it may come through the laying on of hands: it can follow the simple preaching of the Word. Paul's general references agree with this conception. "In the vast majority of cases in which Paul speaks of the giving of the Spirit, there is no reference to any material medium. In definite terms he makes its communication contingent on faith. 'Received ye the Spirit,' he asks, 'by the works of the law, or by the hearing of Faith?' (Gal. iii. 2). Often he describes it as sent by God into the heart or as given by God (Rom. viii. 11; 2 Cor. i. 22; iii. 5; v. 5; Gal. iii. 5; iv. 6; Phil. i. 19). . . ." Similarly "the mystic union in Paul's thought is essentially independent of any ritual act. Not the sacraments, but the word is the power of God unto salvation. 'Christ,' the apostle can declare, 'sent me not to baptize but to preach the gospel'" (Morgan, "The Religion and Theology of Paul," pp. 206, 212).

V

Baptism

In view of these conflicting judgments of the nature of Paul's sacramentalism, we need to consider the passages in the apostle's writings which relate to the subject. There are seven references to Baptism which call for consideration. (*a*) *1 Cor. x. 1 ff.:* Here Paul compares the wilderness experiences of Israel—the passing under the cloud and through the sea—to Baptism: and the eating of manna and the drinking of water from the rock that followed them, to the Eucharist. Israel, even after such experiences of grace, fell back: so let the Christians after Baptism and the Eucharist beware lest they become castaway. Kirsopp Lake finds the passage as indicative not only of the high importance of these two rites for the Christian Church, but of a Mystery significance attached to the sacraments ("Earlier Epistles of St. Paul," p. 201). He thinks it a specific warning against the view that Christians are safe because they have been initiated into the Christian Mysteries. A magical fortification does not guarantee against an ethical lapse. But the passage after all is capable of a simpler "prophetic" interpretation—a warning against declension after solemn profession and even spiritual experience. The "Mystery-magic" hypothesis of Lake seems quite unnecessary. (*b*) *Romans vi. 1 ff.* seems a definite reference to contemporary rites of assimilation, but here again, we may have something merely literary or parabolic in nature. The passage by no means indicates that Paul held the theory that there was supernatural efficacy in the act itself, the use of water and the pronouncement of the name of Christ—an efficacy which would not be realized by ethical and spiritual processes alone. (*c*) *Col. ii. 12, 13:* "Being buried

with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead." The sense of this passage also may be satisfied by regarding baptism as a solemn religious profession of faith, an ethical act, and nothing in the nature of a magical process. It is interesting to note that the "assimilation" idea is applied in the previous verse by Paul to circumcision—a Jewish and not a Mystery rite. We know how Paul regarded the rite of circumcision as unimportant in itself—"Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything but a new creature." It seems natural to extend that attitude to the rite which is set parallel in this passage—that of baptism. If Paul did not regard actual circumcision as essential to newness of life, need we think that he regarded baptism differently? Only the ethical and spiritual accompaniments gave it its value and significance. (*d*) *Gal. iii.* 27: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ." There may be a reference here to the Mysteries—not only to their baptisms but to the custom of putting on the masks of the Deity (Pfleiderer, "Primitive Christianity," vol. i., p. 62). But again the reference can be regarded as purely a literary one. There is nothing to compel us to regard baptism as having any significance other than that which solemn public confession and dedication would give it. (*e*) *Eph. v.* 26: "Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it with the washing of water by the word." There seems a double reference here to a bride's lustration before marriage and to the Christian baptism of those who were made members of the Church. But nothing can be found in the passage to throw light on what was supposed to be effected by the rite, as a physical act. The reference is general. "Washing of water ἐν ῥήματι (with or through the word)" has been interpreted as baptism with the use of the formula of Christ's name (Chrysos-

tom) or as cleansing "by the word of the gospel." Sacramentalists and "prophetists" may therefore each make an exegetical claim, and thus again, in view of our problem, the passage is quite inconclusive. (*f*) 1 *Cor. vi.* 11: "Ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the spirit of our God." This again is quite a general reference, leaving open the nature of the operations of baptism, as conceived by Paul. (*g*) 1 *Cor. xv.* 29: If there be no resurrection, "what shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" We are handicapped here by our ignorance of the custom referred to, and its significance. Percy Gardner ("Religious Experiences of St. Paul," p. 110) conjectures that the living person was baptized for the dead "in cases where a man who had intended to be baptized perished by an accident or any sudden stroke." The idea in such an act might be more sentimental than superstitious. But we do not even know if the practice, whatever it signified, was one which Paul himself approved: there is nothing else suggesting any kindred idea in Paul's letters. Paul's master concern in the passage is to adduce every possible argument in favour of the resurrection—his special theme is *not* baptism—and the reference may be to a custom familiar to his Corinthian readers and practised by them, with which the apostle himself might not necessarily agree. "Taking your point of view, not mine, why baptize for the dead, if there be no resurrection?" But even in such a proxy baptism "for the dead," it is possible to conceive a spiritual and ethical element in the emotions and yearnings of the living proxy—a spirit akin to that which prompts "prayers for the dead," an idea cherished in even some spiritual Protestant circles, or to the notion of paedo-baptism as held by those who hold no superstitious views of the rite; the spiritual desire for dedication and divine blessing upon the morally unconscious babe, in the hearts and minds

of parents and friends, saves this from being an act of physical magic and superstition.*

VI

Our conclusion is that there is no clear evidence that Paul attached an *ex opere operato* significance to the rite of baptism. That a suspicion of inherent value in the act flickered in Paul's mind may be regarded as possible in view of the considerations noted on p. 189, but Paul's dominant interest was spiritual and ethical, and *when he had to examine his positions in the daylight of crisis*, we find Paul's attitude towards ritual in general, clearly indicated in his attitude towards circumcision and kindred Jewish externalities. It is quite likely that Paul had the ideas of the Mysteries in mind when he wrote some of the passages quoted: it is also highly probable that in the Mysteries, the magical element was strongly present, but we are unwarranted by Paul's comparisons of Christian and Mystery institutions, which may have a natural literary interpretation, in saying that he attached to the former the magic significance of the latter.

We conceive, however, that an interpretation can be given to baptism which avoids the idea of " magic " operations on the one hand, and the bareness of a mere pictorial act on the other, or even of an act accompanied at the time with profound spiritual emotions and ethical resolve. This intermediate interpretation rests upon the idea of *baptism as an entry into the Christian Church*,

* Some commentators deny that the reference is to vicarious baptism and interpret (*a*) those (living) people who are baptized *for the sake of* friends and kinsfolk (now dead) who desired the former's conversion and profession (Köster, G. G. Findlay); (*b*) those baptized with an interest in the resurrection of the dead (T. S. Evans, " Speakers' Commentary "). But why, then, omit τῆς ἀναστάσεως, which is the vital word? (*c*) those baptized (*i.e.*, converted) because of the dead (heroes and martyrs), the view of John Edwards (1692). But in this case we should have expected, not ὑπέρ (" on behalf of "), but διά (" on account of ").

and Paul's conception of that Church as a mystic fellowship with Christ as the Head, and believers as organic parts of that one spiritual unit. This is a point now to be considered in the light of the evolution of the idea of Baptism.

VII

Baptism passed through several historical phases. It is quite likely that the history of both sacraments passed through magical, symbolic and mystical stages. In the developments of all faiths, there has been a process of superimposing a higher significance on old and originally superstitious practices. Modern Hinduism is rich in illustrations. In Roman Catholicism a score of pagan superstitions have been "baptized into Christianity" and become endowed with higher meanings. The Levitical system of the Jews was an attempt to transform into elements of higher religious value, remnants of practices surviving from that stage of animism and magic religions through which Judaism, like all other faiths, passed. The sacrament of baptism seems an instance of such institutions proceeding from lowly origins and only gaining a higher significance in their development. Its roots are obviously among the ritual customs of primitive magic religions. As a rite of sacramentarian purification, it has parallels among the undeveloped cults of religion all over the world. Ceremonial or even ethical uncleanness could be washed off like dirt in running water or in a pool. It was a kind of process of "sympathetic magic," and the tendency of baptism, even with its high Christian associations, to show a superstitious side, is due to that ancestry. In periods of religious degeneracy the superstitious has crept out from the clothing of the spiritual.

Baptism then passed into a symbolic or semi-symbolic stage. In the hands of John the Baptist,

the old magic rite of ceremonial purification found a higher ethical significance. Moral cleansing had become primarily regarded as a thing of the heart, and not a mechanical process of ritual. There must be an inward spiritual process of true repentance before there could be remission of sin. The mechanical outward act continued, but it was growing to be more the symbol rather than the means of the cleansing. Whether John regarded the rite as having some necessary value and efficacious properties in itself, we do not know. The ethical element certainly predominated, but the stress laid on John's physical act, giving him the distinguishing title of "the Baptist," rather suggests that John felt that there was some peculiar virtue or efficacy in the act itself. It is, of course, a common phenomenon that, when a lower meaning has been transcended in a higher ethical development, the ghost of the old lingers on in the new and loftier conception.

A third significance followed from the nature of baptism as a symbol of repentance. It became the *sign of an entry into a new order*, part of a ritual of initiation. ["In the account of the initiation of Lucius into the Mysteries of Isis ('Apul. Metamorph.,' xi. 20, date about A.D. 150) an ablution precedes the central rites" (Kennedy, "Paul and the Mystery Religions," p. 229).] In the second century of the Christian era, there is evidence of the practice of baptism, as the condition of a proselyte being admitted to Judaism. Such a practice would hardly have been borrowed from Christianity, and it may have been employed by the Jews before the time of John, although direct evidence is wanting. At any rate, such a significance of initiation became attached to baptism in the early days of the Christian Church. Baptism was the outward sign of entering the Church.* It is, of course, true that

* The famous passage apparently instituting baptism as a Christian rite, "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" (Matt.

the rite of baptism became associated with the bestowal of the Holy Spirit: the solemnity and the collective psychical influence of the occasion apparently gave rise to abnormal manifestations: but this was a secondary phenomenon—the primary significance of baptism was entry into the new order, and all that this meant.

VIII

The language of Romans vi. 3 *ff.* suggests that Baptism has reached another stage, and gained the significance of a mystical assimilation with Deity. No doubt the Mystery cults are in mind, but this does not imply, as we have already said, that Paul accepted the magic theory of the Mysteries for Christian baptism. Rather we need to connect this passage with Paul's general doctrine of salvation or justification by faith, operating through mystical union with Christ: and with the idea of Baptism as the recognized means of entering the Church, associated with the ecstatic and mystic experiences which obviously often accompanied it: and with the further idea of the Church as the mystic Body of Christ. The physical baptismal action might provide elements of "suggestion" inducing Christian mystical experience, but we conceive that in Paul's thought the reference was not to what might happen at the moment, but to the whole Christian life, to be realized within the Church, into which baptism was the open introduction. The rite marked the beginning of new relations, new life and new experiences associated in the most intimate way with the Church as a mystic fellowship. Baptism owed its quality and

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xxviii. 19)—even apart from the question of authenticity, and "on the whole, the evidence of literary criticism is against the historical character of the traditional text" (Kirsopp Lake, *E.R.E.*, "Baptism")—does not carry us of necessity beyond an injunction to found a new order: the symbol, expressing the new order, was surely quite a secondary matter.

significance, not to the act itself, but to that which followed the act. The values of the Church as the Body of Christ, and of the whole life of spiritual experience and power coming from deliberate and conscious communion with Him, are summed up and symbolized in the solemn act of confession, profession and adoption of the life of the Church. *Baptism finds its meaning and efficacy not as an isolated act, but as an integral part of the general idea of the Church*, which, in turn, finds its significance in the experience of fellowship with Christ, and with those in Christ. The language of 1 Cor. xii. 12 *ff.* is illuminating. The stress of the passage is on the organic unity of the Church, in which "all the members, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all *baptized into one body*." . . . The reference of 1 Cor. x., so far from suggesting an *ex opere operato* meaning to baptism, may be taken rather to challenge the *isolation* of the act, and its significance. Its redemptive power must be sought in the continuation of Christian life in the Church.

IX

The Eucharist

As the Church holds it to-day, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper appears to be a composite conception. It is as a river formed by the confluence of several contributory streams. It is a blending of several more or less distinct ideas, and its full significance is revealed only by tracing these several elements back to their historical sources.

We have two distinct accounts of the Last Meal in the New Testament. The one does not even represent Jesus as instituting a permanent rite. The words "Do this in remembrance of Me" do not occur at all in Matthew and Mark's version. Westcott and Hort reject the words in Luke as an interpolation suggested

by Paul's account of the Eucharist in 1 Cor. xi. If Westcott and Hort be right, then the three Synoptics present a more or less common tradition, without a commemorative significance: and Paul presents a second tradition, commemorative and mystic. If the *textus receptus* of Luke be preferred (for a discussion concerning the Lucan text, see Kirsopp Lake's article, "Eucharist," *E.R.E.*) we should still have two traditions of the Last Supper. the Matthew-Mark, and the Luke-Paul, the former being more historically probable than the latter. Luke's account would be framed under Pauline influence—an influence which, for reasons given later, seems affected by the apostle's subjectivism, and in its points of divergence from the Matthew-Mark tradition would be less historically reliable. The original tradition (Matthew-Mark) appears, then, to describe Jesus taking a last meal with the disciples, in the course of which He breaks the loaf and says—"This is My body." Pouring out the wine, He declares—"This is the blood of the covenant shed on behalf of many." Matthew adds to Mark's account—"unto remission of sins."

We can understand this simple narrative and why it should be preserved. We often call to mind the last meeting we had with friends before they passed from our sight. We remember what they said and did the last time we were with them, and we preserve and treasure these memories. Would it be other with the disciples of Jesus? They would often think of the last meal they had with their Master: they would repeat what He did and said then. He had a foreboding of what was coming: they recollected how strangely He seemed to speak. They remembered His words—"This is My body." These are most naturally regarded as a "Dying-to-live" parable. "I am like a loaf broken": an unbroken loaf cannot be eaten and cannot nourish. It must be destroyed as a loaf in order to give life.

Had Jesus changed His course of living, working and witnessing, drawn back some of His great sayings, repudiated His friendship with publicans and sinners, refrained from coming into collision with scribes, Pharisees and Sadducees, He could have avoided the Cross. The world does not trouble to crucify colourless nonentities. But on the other hand, He would have meant nothing to the spiritual life and progress of the world. It was because Jesus had a vision and courage to declare it that at last He hung on Calvary. In those few days before His death, when the shadow of the Cross was falling heavily upon Him and He needed to prepare the minds of His followers for the problem which would soon confront them so acutely, this law of uplift by sacrifice was much in His mind and on His lips. "Whoso would save his life must lose it." The same truth was expressed in the figure, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone, but if it die, it beareth much fruit." Another homely parable, with a like meaning is here—"I am the bread—*the loaf which cannot nourish and strengthen the eater without being broken.*" The blood-red wine suggested still another figure conveying the same truth. Blood-shedding was a feature of the familiar Levitical ritual. The covenant was sealed by the sprinkling of blood (Ex. xxiv. 6-8). Thus, from the sacrificial victim's death, the community profited. Matthew's addition to Mark's narrative—"unto remission of sins"—if it should represent the original tradition, is an expansion of the central idea of the illustration. It may be a reminiscence of Isaiah liii.

The life lost that it should be gained: the seed dying that new growth might come: the loaf broken that the bread might nourish: the blood shed—that the covenant might be ratified for the many—one thought underlies all—and in the Lord's Supper, two of these parables provided vivid, pictorial symbolism. The

original narrative seems to have been a piece of action-teaching to bring home to the disciples the illuminating principle of "dying to live."

X

We now turn to the Pauline tradition. So far there is no sacramentarian significance of a memorial rite. But in 1 Cor. xi. we get a more elaborate account introduced in a striking way—"I have received this from the Lord." Why should the first person singular—the emphatic ἐγω—be used, unless the communication was regarded in some special way as personal to Paul? The phrase can hardly mean "I have received this from the historical Jesus," since we have no other indication of Paul's personal contact with the Jesus of history. It is highly probable (though challenged by many scholars, *e.g.*, J. Weiss) that the reference is to what Paul considered to be a direct revelation from the exalted mystic Christ. This was in accordance with Paul's doctrine of a mystic Christ and mystic revelation: "Have not I seen the Lord?" We need not here discuss Paul's theory of direct mystic illumination (see pp. 148 *ff.*), but we take the formula—"I have received this from the Lord"—to indicate that Paul is here delivering an original interpretation, in distinction to handing on a common tradition of the primitive Church.

The Pauline Eucharist is a recurring rite of solemn religious character. It is a memorial feast—"Do this in remembrance of Me." It is more than a memorial feast—*it is a practice of mystic communion with an exalted and ever living Christ.* "The cup of blessing which we bless, does it not mean a joint-participation in the blood of Christ? The loaf of bread which we break, does it not mean a joint-participation in the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16; *cf.* verses 20, 21).

There were several conceivable factors encouraging

this development. The idea of a memorial rite might well be suggested by such periodic Mystery mournings, as the weeping for Tammuz or Attis (Frazer). Percy Gardner finds a parallel in the pagan feasts of commemoration for departed heroes and ancestors, "a custom altogether familiar to the Hellenistic world. The ancestor was invariably present, as was their Master among the Christians. The objects of the feast were to remind those present of their allegiance to the heroized ancestor, and, by it, to draw them into closer union with one another" ("Religious Experiences of St. Paul," p. 113).

Or there were the Communion Meals of the Mystery cults—the eating from drum and cymbal which united men with Attis, the vegetation god who died and rose again: in Mithraism of a later date (though one hardly knows the date of the tradition), there was the Mithraic eating of bread and drinking of wine, partly to celebrate the feast, which, according to tradition, had been kept by Mithra and his companions at the end of a terrestrial life: partly to lift men up into the life of the god by consuming sacred food. Possibly at the root of these customs lay the primitive nature-religion idea of "eating the god," but even with the pagan mysteries, the idea by this date would probably have grown so refined that we may agree with Schweitzer that such a significance was recognized neither in the Mysteries nor in Paulinism.*

* *Cf.* Rashdall ("Idea of Atonement," p. 481): "It is very doubtful whether in civilized paganism, the sacrificer ever supposed that the victim sacrificed, was in any literal sense, identical with the god, or that the worshipper who ate the victim or partook in the sacred meal was really eating the god. . . . Such an idea would have filled any Jewish born Christian, or even a pagan at all influenced by Jewish ideas, with sheer horror."

XI

Here again, one must ask the question considered in connection with Baptism—was it conceived that an actual result was effected in the realm of what we might call "supernatural physics," so that there was as literal a partaking of a spiritual body as of material bread and wine—some process apart from any working of "suggestion," or stimulus to man's spiritual-rational nature? Is there Pauline justification for Transubstantiation or even Consubstantiation?

Paul's teaching concerning the Lord's Supper is found only in the first Corinthian epistle. (*a*) We have noticed the first passage of reference—1 Cor. x. —in connection with Baptism. Israel's history, allegorically treated, shows that there might be a lapse from salvation after baptism and partaking of spiritual food. After spiritual experiences and blessings, the *nature of which is in no way defined*, there may be a fall from grace back into idolatry. (*b*) In 1 Cor. x. 14-21, the Eucharist is expressly defined as a communion with the body and blood of Christ. A few verses later (verse 21) a deliberate parallel is drawn between the drinking of the Lord's cup, and the drinking of the "cup of devils," that is, between the Eucharist and pagan communion meals. But we cannot say that we have here anything more than a rough analogy between a spiritual communion of believers and Christ, operating strictly in the ethical and spiritual sphere, and a "magic" act supposed to effect communion with pagan idols in some physical sense. The general idea of communion and assimilation was common to the two cults, and invited a natural comparison, but this does not imply that the methods and processes, claimed for the one, are the methods and processes operating for the other. Paul believed in a mysticism with spiritual and ethical elements, by means of which Christ lived

in him. It was brought about by a "dying-to-live" principle in common life: it was inspired by the life and example of the Jesus of history: it followed the preaching of the word: it was realized where two or three met together in the fellowship of the Church: it was known in the breaking of the bread of the Agape. The worshipper and his Lord could be one. "Closer art Thou than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet." The pagan cults, too, had their theory of the union of worshipper and deity by "physico-super-physical" means. A comparison was obvious—but also a contrast! We are by no means committed to the belief that the magic theory of the pagan cult, with which comparison was made, was the explanation in Paul's own mind, of his own experience of communion.

It is indeed possible to argue that the apostle's thought passed from the common theory that the partaker at the pagan feast became physically united with the heathen gods—who to Paul were nothing other than demon-powers—to a profounder ethical view that such a one had actually fellowship with evil, not by a crude corporeal contact, but by his association with, and countenance of, the whole set of ideas and ideals connected with pagan worship.

(*c*) The third passage is that which gives the institution of the meal according to Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23). From the sacramentarian's point of view, the most suggestive words are found in the appendix to the narrative (verse 30)—"On this account (eating the Lord's Supper unworthily) many among you are frail and sick, and some have fallen asleep." This invites comparison with the case recorded by Reitzenstein, of Lucius at Cenchreae—"His spiritual father Mithras informs Lucius that death is the punishment for those who go forward to initiation without the call of the goddess, or with Heitmüller's instance of the Syrian belief that the eating of sardines sacred to the goddess

Atargatis, produced ulcers and wasting disease. But we may agree with Kennedy (p. 276), that there is no reason to attribute the results of a sacrilegious partaking of the Lord's Supper to some quality *inherent in the Eucharist elements which brought their own penalty*, but rather to a "judgment" of God for a careless and irreverent spirit, comparable to those judgments falling upon the Israelites in the wilderness with whom God was not well pleased.

A magic Mystery significance *may* be read into some of Paul's references to the sacraments, but the natural sense of the passage *does not compel* such an interpretation. Against such an interpretation must be cited Paul's general attitude towards rite and externalities: in favour of it may be adduced such features of Paul's thought as his belief in demonology, the power of the solemn ban (1 Cor. v. 5), and his apparent ritual conception of the effects of Christ's death. Again, we must take into account that such magic significance was attached to similar rites in the Mystery cults, and afterwards in the early Christian Church. The tendency of rites with origins in primitive magic religions to revert to that circle of thought, even after being refined and spiritualized, must also be recognized. But in any case, such an element in Paul's thought is secondary, unimportant, and inconsistent with his central message. It cannot be very successfully contended that we are dealing with an ardent sacramentalist when we note the apostle's references to baptism in 1 Cor. i. 14-17, or the absence of reference to the Lord's Supper in all but one epistle. We must rather think of Paul reinterpreting customs already established in some form in the Church, in the light of his own mystic experience, and in most intimate connection with his own mystic theory of the Church. As we have suggested, Pauline baptism must be regarded, not as an isolated magic act, but as gathering up and symbolizing the whole life of the Church, its

mystic communion with Christ, and fellowship among its members. Similarly, we conceive, the Lord's Supper became regarded as a repeated exercise of mysticism wherein the experiences of the life of the Church came, as it were, to a focus. In this act, what we have come to know as "suggestion" played a legitimate part: the bread and wine, and the associated "gnosis," all helped to induce a mysticism, a sense of communion with the Divine, which had rich spiritual and ethical justification. It is highly probable that in this developed interpretation by Paul of Church customs already existing, the apostle was influenced by contemporary Mysteries. But if so, it would only be a form that was borrowed to induce or express an element of direct experience—Paul's personal sense of his communion with the Divine, realized through the Church. Paul simply clothed his own living, mystic experience with a dress which lay convenient at hand. A flood of new light and significance broke over the old and simpler tradition, but the real authority for the developed doctrine, was certainly not in pagan precedent, but in the apostle's own spiritual experience. He had found in the fellowship of the Church a way to God: he had realized that where two or three gather together in the name of Christ, there is He in the midst. The Agape of the Church was more than a social meal—it was a sacrament, and the familiar practices and theory of contemporary Mysteries encouraged without originating, the deeper interpretation of the Pauline Eucharist.

XII

The real communion is a matter of mental and spiritual process, and the material symbols and the physical action must be regarded as a means of "suggestion." The latter element supplies a necessary factor for the value of a rite which the experience of

Christendom has found impressive. We may find a partial parallel in prayer. The framing and uttering of sentences, the silence and psychological conditions, are all preliminaries to the real prayer which is mystic communion, beyond words and action. The physical and mental attitude we adopt; even the conceptions we frame, the mental images, the concrete petitions we set before us, are not strictly prayer, but are of the nature of "suggestion" to induce it. They constitute the Holy Place, but the Holy of Holies is beyond them. So the symbols and actions of the Eucharist are of the nature of "suggestion," helping to induce the spiritual experience of mystic communion, and the value of such methods has had impressive witness borne to them in the testimony of generations of Christian people, who have found the practice fortifying the soul, opening the heavenly doors, and bringing the glory of the presence of the Eternal Christ to transfigure the wilderness of earth.

"There can be no question of the enormous value of the practice in the Christian Church," says Percy Gardner ("Exploratio Evangelica," p. 45). "Modern researches into religious psychology have shown that the centre of gravity of religion in most ages, lies rather in practice and habit than in thought and belief. Thus the Communion appeals to the faculties with an incredible force. . . . It brings satisfaction not only to the conscious surface of our minds, but to feelings of which we are but half-conscious or wholly unconscious. It has a hold upon the deepest and most human roots of our nature. If the historical doubts which lie around the origin of the great Christian rite are scarcely to be dissipated, it is all the more necessary and more legitimate to appeal from the origin of the institution to its continued history in the Church. Here, at all events, we are on safe grounds. The evidence of Christian experience is clear enough. The doctrine of the Communion, however it may have been

mixed with foreign accretions, or sometimes rendered materialistic by unworthy developments, is yet doubtless in the last resort built upon a basis of fact."

XIII

Faith-Gnosis

In one respect, we must not set sacraments over against "faith," in the Pauline system, the one as involving a non-intellectual, non-spiritual element, and the other as resting upon a purely spiritual and prophetic basis. There was a good deal fundamentally akin between Pauline sacraments and Pauline "faith." There was a non-intellectual element in both, for "faith-gnosis," as already has been said, is only semi-intellectual in its nature: it is beyond the laws which prevail in the purely intellectual life: it does not answer the epistemological tests we require for intellectual discovery and knowledge. Its value lies in "suggestion" rather than in rational appeal. That also is the nature of the sacraments. In accordance with the laws of suggestion, they affect the more shadowy, sub-conscious background of personality. So with faith-gnosis. It operates not by reason, but by suggestion. It must be distinguished sharply from the modern sense of belief having a rational basis and appeal. The content of the Pauline "faith-gnosis," like that of the later Gnostic schemes, can be traced back to the imagery of ancient myths, as far as outward form is concerned, although it may express profound eternal truths and intuitions, which may have a general rational defence and justification, but this latter fact must not disguise for us the real nature of faith-gnosis. It is not, and cannot take the place of a rationally conceived philosophy of the universe. That is not its nature and province. It must be set together with

the sacraments, under the general class of "suggestive" elements in religion.

Pauline "faith" is, in fact, identical with what the apostle calls "the mystery." This term occurs about a dozen times in Paul "with flexible usage, but with the notion of 'something kept secret' always belonging to it" (Kennedy). The idea is that it is some belief, characteristic of, or peculiar to the Christian Church, although it may be proclaimed, and, therefore, its "secrecy" consists in its being regarded with such reverence that it may not lightly be proclaimed—"cast as pearls before swine": or that it can only be fully appreciated by elect people, described in Mystery terms as τέλειοί or πνευμᾶτικοί. The "appreciation," further, is not merely intellectual, but passes into the realm of mystic experience—a double feature, characteristic of the contemporary idea of gnosis in general. Kennedy ("Paul and the Mystery Religions," p. 134) believes that "in view of the earlier associations of the communities which Paul addresses, we cannot rule out the suggestion that the Mystery atmosphere is to some extent present, though plainly no conclusion can be drawn from this term as to Paul's personal attitude towards the Mystery conceptions."

The "mystery" is a secret purpose of God (Rom. xi. 25), made known by special revelation (1 Cor. xv. 51; xiii. 2; iv. 1), and contrasted with the wisdom of this world. The term is used specifically to describe the manner of the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 51), and the special relation of God to the Jews (Rom. xi. 25; xvi. 25), the truth that "Christ is in you—the hope of glory" (Col. i. 27), the summing up of all things in Christ (Eph. i. 9), and the mystic relation of Christ to His Church (Eph. v. 32). Percy Gardner finds the "great mystery" to be the mystic relation of man to Christ, giving salvation in this world and in the world to come. "This enthusiastic belief lies at the root of all the words and deeds of St. Paul: it is

the basis of his existence. It is no system of doctrine, though we may call it the teaching of salvation through faith in Christ, but it is really the relation of Christ to His Church and to every member of the Church. It is both the doctrine of a mystery and a mystical doctrine " (" Religious Experiences of St. Paul," p. 79). It is the doctrine of the universe as a mystic organism in Christ, *which, being contemplated, passes from doctrine to mystic experience.* This was the feature of gnosis in general: it is esoteric doctrine or theosophy inducing or suggesting, like the sacraments, a sense of mystic communion, beyond expression or precise description. The mystic experience has the feature of ineffability (W. James). The " mystery," as doctrine, is rich in " suggestive " appeal. It is a theosophy rather than a philosophy. It is more akin in its nature and operation to " suggestive " sacramental rite than to religious philosophic belief. Indeed we may compare it to the " suggestive " use of the " name " or of longer formulae, awakening emotions which are more like those produced by music and art than by intellectual statements. Salvation is by suggestive sacrament or " faith," gnostic theosophy, or " mystery." Nevertheless, associated with these " suggestive " elements are spiritual and ethical ideas which raise the whole into a higher region and give it permanent value.

XIV

In some sense, both the " suggestive " and rational methods may lead to a common mysticism which is harmony with God. Sacraments, gnosis, faith-gnosis, or mystery, and a rational spiritual philosophy, and ethical purity—all these in different ways may bring the soul to the consciousness of the higher " Faith " which is unlike them all: they are the means, it is the end. That higher " Faith " is communion, fellowship, " sympathy " with the Infinite and Eternal. Never-

theless, they may not be interchangeable or equally valuable approaches. In one sense, the end they reach may *not* be identical. The method of approach is always summed up in the end attained, and differences of approach will give their distinctive qualities to the mystic end. And with Plato we may agree that Philosophy, in the broad sense of the love of the true, the intellectually sound and the socially serviceable, is the " best music " to charm the soul into unity with God. The " pure in heart " and the honest in mind shall best " see God." Prophetism is the path to the noblest Mysticism. And all other mystic methods must find their permanent value in their incorporation of this prophetic element. That which lifted Paul above the Mysteries, and above the mere gnostic cults, was the " prophetic " complexion and interpretation given to kindred features in Christianity—an element coming to the apostle, partly from the noblest of Old Testament thought, partly from Greek Stoicism, but *pre-eminently from the words of " eternal life " spoken by our Lord.*

XV

Mysticism in Other Features of Paulinism

Among the features characteristic of mysticism, we noted not only the sense of communion between God and man, but the sense of social organic unity, an optimistic attitude towards life, and a sense of participation in an eternal order. These are features which find conspicuous expression in Paul's writings.

(1) The sense of social organic unity is seen in Paul's social doctrine of the Church. It is an organic whole. Its members are members one of another. Its gifts are not the exclusive property of individuals, but belong to the whole. The supreme gift is Love, without which everything else is nothing. The score of problems presented by the Corinthian Church find

their solution in an emphasis on Love. It is greater than the intellectualism which had split the Church into its unedifying schisms. It is the key to a new Christian morality of co-operation and service, and destroys the spirit of selfish litigation, which was coming to disfigure and discredit Church life. It must be taken into account when judging those problems of conduct where a strong Christian finds he may personally do without hurt of conscience, what proves to be a stumbling-block to a weaker brother. All things may be lawful to the stronger man, but because of the considerations of Love, all things are not expedient. Men must bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ. They must walk in love. They must overcome evil with good. The deepest mystic intuitions of Paul's soul echo the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount.

The universalism of Pauline Christianity is a further expression of that mystic love of all mankind from which no race is excluded. "All the men ever born are my brothers" (Whitman). "There cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision; barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman, but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. iii. 2).

XVI

(2) The *optimism*, characteristic of the mystic temperament, is expressed in Paul's conviction that all things work together for good to them that love God, that the whole universe is God's, and that there is one far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves —the theme of Romans viii. That strange doctrine of Second Adventism has at its roots an unconquerable intuition of Hope. God is in His heaven—can the earth eternally remain in bondage and misery? Anti-Christ is great—but Christ is greater. In Paulinism, as in all great religious systems, Satan is an inferior. The intuition inspiring the doctrines of Hope and Cosmic

Good, throws over practical life a complexion of cheerfulness, peace and joy. Whereas we might expect depression and sighing, we find everywhere the songs of the prison-house at midnight. Although once Paul is described as saying that his service had been with tears (Acts xx. 19, 31), and in his letter to Corinth, he confesses that he writes with many tears, deep suffering and depression of spirits (2 Cor. iv. 4), such utterances stand isolated among a multitude of phrases suggestive of rejoicing and exultation. The apostle's references to depressing circumstances of life are usually to indicate his triumph over them. Is there affliction? That may be joyfully regarded as filling up that which was lacking in the sufferings of Christ (Col. i. 24), as building up character (Rom. v. 3), as winning an eternal weight of glory (2 Cor. iv. 17). Even martyrdom for faith is a thought inspiring joyfulness (Phil. ii. 17, 18). Are there those that preach Christ out of envy and contentiousness? No matter, Christ is being preached! The apostle's very imprisonment is having happy results. The Imperial guards have thereby heard of Christ, and other brethren have been inspired by Paul's sacrifice to bolder service (Phil. i. 12, 14). The keynote of the epistles of the captivity is "Rejoice, again I say, Rejoice."

XVII

The combination in Paul's nature of restless energy and aspiration with an inward peace, contentment, and a divine indifference to the ebbs and flows of outward circumstances is a curious paradox often seen in the life of the great mystics. The true mystic is not one who, feeling that ultimately all the world is right since God is in heaven, is apathetic to the world and to its living movements. There is an "unholy indifference," which comes from a one-sided faith in God; a false attitude which regards life as a theatrical play, a process from which one can stand aloof in haughty

superiority; if God will bring everything right in the end, what need to worry? The genuine mystic knows of a corrective experience of soul, when drawn into the life of God. He is thrilled with a divine vitality, and his communion leads, not to weak dependence upon God, but to his becoming the hands and feet of God, an instrument "constrained" by the Divine Life and Energy. Such a one will throw himself with all the passion of his soul into the world's idealistic labour, but from time to time, he will reach down into the depths of his personality to realize the other truth that all is well: neither life nor death, things present nor things to come, nor any other creation, can separate him from the love of God. This is the supreme moral antinomy, which has its philosophical counterpart in the "dual unity" of Becoming and Being.

XVIII

Eternal Life

There remains to be considered that mystic sense of "eternal life"; the consciousness of the developed soul of its participation in an eternal order: of a triumph over time and change and death. The mystic development of this idea finds fullest expression in the Paulinist Fourth Gospel. Eternal life, a life that may be experienced here and now, a life that shall not be merely everlasting but *is* eternal, standing above time, expressing no mere quantity of years but quality of existence, is one of the three or four great themes characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. But it is also the element in Paul's own experience expressed in his unhesitating belief in the soul's continued life hidden with Christ in God, and underlying his doctrine of deliverance from the power of death through Christ.

Obviously, our belief in immortality cannot be established by inductive process, or scientific investi-

gation. To prove inductively that the deepest part within us never perishes, would require a period of observation equal to that duration of life which we are seeking to demonstrate. As observers we should have to be immortal in order to prove immortality! Psychical Research may possibly supply conclusive evidence some day that there is a survival of human personality beyond death, but that falls short of proving that the soul is eternal. The soul may survive for a considerable period after death and then perish. *Immortality is an "infinite" conception*, and has been realized and must be realized by the life of perception proper to infinity—namely, cosmic consciousness, intuition, "faith," distinguishable from "Faith-gnosis" or Μυστήριον. Ordinary perception, by which we gain our consciousness of objects and events, has no measuring rod for the infinite and eternal. For that other and complementary knowledge of the whole, we must recognize and use the method of cosmic intuition or mysticism. This gives us the real direct consciousness of God, the sense of the soundness of the universe, and the conviction of immortality and eternal life.

XIX

Reality has two aspects—the One and the Many: Eternity and Time: Being and Becoming: Infinity and the Finites. These, of course, are aspects, and not ontological divisions. We may conceive them under the analogy of the picture which may be regarded as an "ensemble," or as a thing of details each one of which may be examined separately. We cannot do away with the details, however, and retain the general effect, although we can distinguish the details from the general effect. So Finites and Infinity, the Many and the One, Time and Eternity, "Becoming" and "Being" are distinguishable yet ultimately identical. They are complementary aspects of the one Reality. Each is

apprehended by its own type of consciousness. We become aware of finite objects and events by common perception: we become aware of the Infinite by intuition, cosmic consciousness, mysticism. This latter gives us, not "objects" but a "complexion," "atmosphere," an attitude, a "regulative idea." We "feel" God, though we cannot see Him. We "sense" the Eternal Goodness, though we may be unable to provide argumentative proof of it; no eye has looked upon the Infinite, but we know when we are "in tune with the Infinite." So we claim that cosmic intuition gives us a sense of immortality though inductively we cannot prove it. We cannot banish the thought that the deepest part of us belongs to an eternal order, but discursive reason by the nature of its limitations cannot "prove" this. But, as a matter of fact, reason cannot "prove" the data of the finite world; *it can only work upon the data provided by experience*. The infinite also supplies its data, to be accepted as foundations of knowledge, starting-points for the constructive processes of discursive reason, but not to be regarded as its product, or dependent upon it for proof. The sense of immortality is not an inference but a datum. It belongs to the *simul-totum* world, and is gained by the *simul-totum* type of consciousness—"faith," intuition, the cosmic sense, mysticism. The way to the knowledge of immortality is not by argument, but by the deepening of mystic intuition. We know of it, not through logicians, but through mystics, men who "see with their souls."

XX

Paul's deeper nature had been stimulated by the life and message of Jesus of Nazareth; his spiritual life and intuitions had been quickened; he had become conscious of a communion with the Divine; he had realized that the "kelson of the universe is Love";

he had felt the new life of the purified and healthy soul; he had come to experience the peace and joy which proceed from union with Christ—and the *further result of the deepening of his spiritual nature was a triumphant sense of eternal life.* He had passed out of death into life, and his new life of faith was one which rose above the world of change and decay. He had a building eternal in the heavens. Deep in his soul he had found the eternal. He had become convinced that neither life nor death, things present nor things to come, could separate him from the love of God. This was the essential element of experience; we have noticed how Paul sought to explain it by contemporary theories of transaction with elemental powers and world rulers of darkness; by theories of the Resurrection of Christ, by reversal of Adam's curse, and what not! The fact of the life eternal was greater than the theories adduced to explain it, and is quite independent of their truth or error. Bad reasons can bear witness to true intuitions. It was given to Paul to see eternal truth with his soul, but his conceptions and reasoning powers in many respects, belonged to his own age and generation.

The " revelation " of the mystic, or cosmic intuition gives guarantee that individual personality persists beyond the grave. There is no mere absorption into an amorphous whole. We have conceived two aspects of Reality—the One and the Many; Being and Becoming. This does not signify that an amorphous One enters upon a time process and becomes the Many, and after a time process, the many forms return into the amorphous One again—although this cosmic time circle is rather the suggestion of 1 Cor. xv. (Is there Stoic influence here ? The conception is similar to the time drama of Fichte and shares its intellectual weaknesses.) The Many and the One eternally co-exist. We are not dealing with time-phases but eternal aspects. Here and now, the Many are also One; they do not

cease to be Many in order to become One; the lines and details of the picture do not become rubbed out in order that the general unity of the picture should be realized. We do not do away with the multitudinous leaves, branches, roots, in order that the one tree shall come into being. We must think, not of successive stages, but of complementary aspects. And if the constitution of existence is the Many *in* the One in the time-and-space order, we conceive that the "One" must have its complementary aspect of the "Many" in the eternal order. If we live and move and have our being in the One here and now, it would suggest on our view of the pattern of the universe and of the constitution of existence, that *the One will ever have its forms of the Many, and that eternally, individuality will be the complement of unity.*

XXI

To come specifically to Paul's ideas of eternal life—(1) in his Thessalonian epistles, he sets out from the Jewish apocalyptic standpoint, and expects a Parousia and Judgment in his own lifetime. The dead in Christ shall rise and shall enjoy with the living in Christ, everlasting blessedness with the Lord. The careless and evil shall "suffer punishment, even eternal destruction from the face of the Lord, and from the glory of His might" (2 Thess. i. 9). In these epistles there is no reference to the resurrection of the wicked. (2) In 1 Cor. the belief in the Parousia and final Judgment is retained. The rationale of Resurrection is sought in the doctrine of mysticism. The dead in Christ are raised in virtue of their union with the risen Lord. In Christ, the risen One, all shall be made alive. The process, Paul conceives on the analogy of nature. In the seed, the living principle which leads to the shedding of the outworn wrappings, gathers from the material around it a new body. "In like

manner, the resurrection is effected through death itself. What appears as the obstacle is actually the means. The spirit of man must free itself from the body which contains it before it fashions for itself a body which is incorruptible" (Charles, *Ency. Bibl.*, vol. ii., col. 1384). (3) A third stage of eschatological view appears in 2 Cor. and Romans. Instead of waiting for the Parousia for resurrection, the believer enjoys a resurrection life from the moment of his death (2 Cor. v. 1-8). A suggestion of universalism appears in Rom. xi. 25-32. The entire Jewish and Gentile world would be gathered at the end, although the reference is somewhat ambiguous. There will not ultimately be distinction of nations, but will there remain individual distinctions of fate for evil and just? (4) In Phil., Col. and Eph. all things created in Christ must come within the sphere of His redemption and be summed up in Him. "There can be no room finally in the world for a wicked being whether human or angelic" (Charles). But here again there is no clear indication whether the persistently evil shall be annihilated, or whether the redemptive love of Christ shall win all creatures to Himself.

XXII

For our study the significance of Pauline eschatology lies in the fact that *in the later epistles at any rate, the apostle finds the grounds of eternal life in mystic union with Christ.* Immortality is a corollary of the spiritual organism of the universe, combined with a sensitiveness to spiritual values. The utterly worthless will not be preserved. But the development of Paul's thought, at any rate, was in the direction of a doctrine that all things have value inasmuch as they were created in and by Christ, and that all things must at last be brought back to God in Christ. Can "what God blessed once, prove accurs'd"?

Paul does not dwell on the details of the future life. He does not allow his imagination to play rapturously upon the Saints' Rest. It is enough to know that for the good man the future means to be with Christ. The universe is in God's hands, and all things are theirs who are Christ's. "The world, or life or death, or things present or things to come—all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's."

This is a sufficing word.

"I know not what the future hath
Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that life and death
His mercy underlies.

"I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air:
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care."
WHITTIER'S "Eternal Goodness."

"O my brave soul!
O farther, farther sail!
O daring joy but safe! *are they not all the seas of God?*"
WHITMAN'S "Passage to India."

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL TRAITS AND ACHIEVEMENTS.—CONCLUSIONS

The ethical stress of Paul—The ethicising of the Mysteries and of the Old Testament ideas of Spirit—Ethical challenge in Predestination—Roots of the doctrine—Relation of the problem to the ultimate antinomy of Being and Becoming—The ethical challenge of the doctrine of Justification by Faith—The inwardness of the doctrine derived from the anti-legalism of Jesus—The large ethical proportions even in Paul's "theological epistles"—Paul's personal traits—A "God-intoxicated" soul—Breadth of interest, thought, vision, and endeavour—Paul's virtues, and the faults of his virtues—Inevitability and wholesomeness of speculative developments in Christianity—Witness of Paul to spiritual intuitions and experience—The apostle of Christian freedom—Literary influence—Paul and the Fourth Gospel—Paul's Christ of experience set into the framework of a Jesus of history—Paul's great service in helping to translate Christianity into the thoughts of a wider world—The broadened appeal by (*a*) the liberation of Christianity from Jewish restrictions; limited nature of Paul's liberalism; (*b*) the introduction of a germ of Greek speculation into Christianity; the "Return to Nature" in Greek thought; (*c*) the Mystery categories, for which there was much preparation even within the circle of late Jewish thought—Religious value of "suggestion"—The translation of Christianity not only gave it a wider appeal, but helped it to discover its own genius—The attempt to interpret Christianity in terms of prophetism—"A Christianity as old as the creation"—Its origin and confirmation in experience, broadly conceived—The universal and eternal elements of faith—Paul's vessel of theological thought-forms must be broken if the world must be filled with the odour of the ointment—The Passing and the Permanent.

I

We have sought to show in this study that the strength and abiding worth of Paulinism lies in its spiritual and ethical emphasis, and that this element lies at the root of the apocalyptic forms, the Hellenistic specula-

tion, and the conceptions of Church and Sacraments. In as far as the Mysteries are allowed to influence Christianity they are transformed by a strong ethical interest: the physical and psychical elements are made to serve the moral. There is a similar transformation of the idea of Spirit. "The ethical side of the Spirit's activity, which, in the primitive view, had been in the background, is brought distinctively and decisively to the front. The chief evidences and fruits of that activity are no longer sought in ecstatic gifts or miraculous powers, but in the everyday virtues—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, meekness, temperance (Gal. v. 22). This ethicising of the Spirit is one of the apostle's greatest religious and dogmatic achievements. It puts upon Christianity in a decisive way the stamp of an ethical religion" (Morgan, "Religion and Theology of Paul," p. 23).

II

But there are features of Pauline doctrine which seem to challenge this ethical interpretation of religion, and demand some examination. Schweitzer, indeed, claims that the action of Pauline sacramentalism is independent of ethical volition and proceeds from predestinarian grace on the part of God (see p. 123). But whether this interpretation of the sacramental process be accepted or not, the issue is raised in the general question of Predestinarianism which finds prominent place in the apostle's teaching. Largely this doctrine is a bequest from the Old Testament conception of Israel as a chosen nation. But we may well conceive that Paul was also impressed by certain facts of experience and reflections upon them. Such feelings of impotence as were expressed in his cry—"The things that I would not, those I do!" may have, at any rate, partial psychological explanation, consistent with moral responsibility, in the large determination

of the momentary action by the character which has been gradually forming as the result of a multitude of apparently minor interests, sympathies and acts. But much of our life, its fortunes and fates, its spiritual and moral advantages and disabilities, seem to lie beyond the sphere of individual choice or responsibility. The fact constitutes a grave Necessarian difficulty, only partially relieved by the consideration of our larger collective responsibility in the social unit. The Predestinarian problem arising from such experiences remains as one of the apparently insoluble mysteries of human life. The brighter side of it may be stated in a doctrine of the grace of God, but this comfortable theory for the favoured, carried with it the puzzling reverse—the fate of the unfavoured by the grace of God. If "some are born to sweet delight," what of those who are "born to endless night"? And the inequalities are not confined to the material sphere, but also apply to qualities of soul and to spiritual benefits and disabilities. Possibly the solution lies in some cosmic view of the *solidarity* of existence, relieving the sharp contrasts necessarily attached to our practical individualistic conceptions of human life. "The *whole* creation groans and travails *together*."

The same Predestinarian issue proceeds from the thought of God's Sovereignty, to use theological terms, or of the fixed nature of the Absolute. How may we be sure of the eternal foundations, if it be possible for man to abuse his freedom in challenge to the will of God? All monistic theories tend to be necessarian. On the other hand, granting that man is from his very nature endowed with the power to choose and to create, and in some way to make things different, this freedom is limited after all, first by his own nature, and further by the laws of an external universe. Man has only power to experiment: he can only succeed in his experiments by perfect accommodation to laws which he cannot change or over-

throw. The whole universe also is so tempered together that within the whole, each part, whether it be stone, or plant, or animal or man, has its own nature, determined and limited by the constitution of the whole. It is the nature of the stone to be hard and heavy, of the plant to grow, of the animal to move about—yet all within the scheme of the whole without risk or threat to the cosmic constitution. Man's nature is to have a certain moral freedom, but this, too, falls within the determined scheme of things and is confined within a larger necessity.

Or we may regard the whole problem as involved in the fundamental antinomy of Being and Becoming. These are complementary aspects of existence: they appear side by side, yet we are unable to state the one in terms of the other. This particular aspect of the antinomy forms from man's mystic or cosmic consciousness on the one hand, and his sense of moral freedom, responsibility and guilt on the other. From the former, Paul came to state the supreme Sovereignty of God who was all in all, yet his own moral experience of the world made him set as a presupposition for all his moral advocacy, that creative power we call free-will. We cannot say that Paul solved the problem thus raised. He simply set forth both sides and left the matter. Perhaps no logical reconciliation is possible. Nevertheless, we can recognize the ultimate antinomy. God in the world-processes of Becoming is living out what He eternally is. God is Love, Virtue, Courage, Goodness—but these things only appear and have meaning in a world-process involving multiplicity, limitation, opposition, or growth from less perfect to more perfect, a world to be overcome on the one hand, and a certain measure of freedom to overcome it. This is the age-long process of life—the revealing of God in human life: but the process looked upon as a whole is a state; God appears as eternal, infinite, transcendent! The two sets of thoughts are, as it were,

in different scales, and we can no more set the one in terms of the other than we can speak of the One embracing the Many as if it were One *among* the Many, or treat the Infinite, embracing the finites, as if it were a further finite. The "all-ness" of God is a statement in terms of *Being:* the freedom of man is a statement in terms of *Becoming*. On the grounds of Predestination, we cannot deny human freewill: on the grounds of human freewill, we cannot deny the Sovereignty, the "all-in-all-ness" of God. Our difficulty arises from the two-scaled structure of human thought, and we must accept both statements as true *in their own setting*.

III

But from another side the doctrine of moral freedom and responsibility is threatened. This new challenge comes from Paul's doctrine of Justification. Its form seems to have been determined partly by current Rabbinical interest, and partly by Paul's own controversy with the Judaizers. How should man be reckoned "just" before God? How should he be both actually in harmony with God and forensically pronounced so to be (for the image of God's judgment-bar stands prominent in the apostle's picture)? The arresting feature of Paul's conception is that this "justification" (or its forensic alternative, "adoption," Gal. iv. 1-7), is pronounced, not on the grounds of individual merit and action, but of the grace of God appropriated through faith. "To him that overcometh and worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness" (Rom. iv. 5).

For the inwardness of this apparent challenge to the worth of moral endeavour and ethical activity, we need to go back to the principle of Christ in the Synoptics, expressed in challenge to the current Pharisaic conception of winning heaven by good works. This

commercialized view of religion is attacked in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke xv.), the Labourer (Matt. xx. 1-16), the Servant coming in from the field (Luke xvii. 7), the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke xviii. 9-14). Christ's teaching was that the essential feature of morality was right attitude, right sympathy, right motive: from these would flow good works, but without them "good works" lost their pure quality of goodness. Harmony with God was not to be obtained by the purchase price of good deeds: it was realized by an orientation of soul. It was irrespective of the time element. The repentant sinner and the life-long saint could both stand in the Kingdom. This sound fundamental principle of morality cut away all commercial notions of winning the favour of God by a multitude of "good works." Here Paul followed Jesus—yet with a momentous difference! He could not quite shake off the legalism of his Jewish adversaries, and rise to the pure and bold thought of his Master. He is here the eclectic, living and thinking in two inconsistent systems—that of the Gospel of Galilee which made morality primarily a matter of attitude, not of purchase inspired by motives which might be intensely selfish and worldly: and that of a legalism according to which a price was demanded, although not necessarily paid by those who benefited. Paul here returned to his conception of the sacrificial death of Jesus. Among its vague values was that of satisfying forensic justice, of paying the purchase price of merit, and thus allowing the grace of God to be extended to those who had no accumulation of personal credit. The conception was superficially natural: it seemed to explain the operation of God's free grace, but it covers a deep inconsistency of idea and marks an intellectual and moral declension from the teaching of our Lord Himself.

The function of "faith" in this process of Justification is that it establishes some kind of assimilation

with the Christ who died and rose again. What Jesus accomplished by this process can be appropriated by the believer becoming in union with Him, and Paul throughout regards as the means of union a "faith" which may begin with belief in the Christian "gnosis" but rises to an experience of Christian communion. The idea was not that of a crude transfer of merit, but by identification with Christ through faith. Justification is a corollary of Salvation, and like it is gained by mystic assimilation with the Christ who has passed through the death and resurrection process and broken the rule of darkness thereby.

From this complex scheme, we must draw forth the element which gives it value—that part of it which came from Galilee. Paul who would interpret Christ, must be interpreted by Him. In a practical way the apostle grasped and presented *the spiritual principle of the inwardness of morality against Judaizers who were making goodness an external and commercial thing.* A profound Christian truth was conveyed although through a weak and, indeed, dangerous category, to the perils of which St. James showed himself sensitive. But no less than James would Paul, rightly understood, insist that "Faith without works is dead." If men love God, they will keep His commandments. But they will do it through love of Him and not to *purchase* His love.

IV

Despite the intellectual menaces to freedom and morality which may lurk in some aspects of Pauline theology, no one who takes a broad view of his writings can stand in a moment's doubt as to the apostle's emphasis on the ethical side of religion. Speculative and doctrinal interests cannot long obscure what is after all Paul's central theme and concern—Christian character. This prophetic element lies at the heart of his gospel as it did at the heart of his Master's. The apocalyptic

speculations of the Thessalonian letters, for instance, may seem at first sight, to constitute their main subject, but this interest raised by a special circumstance, is no more prominent than the feature of moral appeal running throughout, *e.g.*, "May the Lord teach you to love one another and all men with a glowing and growing love, resembling our love for you. Thus will He build up your characters" (1 Thess. iii. 12). "On the subject of love for the brethren, it is unnecessary for me to write to you" (iv. 9), etc.

The Epistle to the Romans starts away on the facts of the moral evil of both Gentile and Jewish worlds: sexual immorality, dishonesty, selfishness, cruelty—conspicuous defects of Gentile character: hypocrisy, veneered sin, a failure to see the inwardness of religion, religious conceit, unbrotherliness—conspicuous defects of Jewish character! This is the world which Christianity must transform! The object of the treatise is the way of deliverance from moral evil. The "gospel" is the opening of the soul by Christ so that temptations lose their power by the "expulsive force of a new affection." From first to last Paul's interest is in character. Salvation has been conceived before and since, as deliverance from foreign enemies, from material disasters, from the torments of hell, from the pains and sorrows of human existence, but for Paul, salvation was primarily and essentially deliverance from the bondage of the lower nature and the thraldom of the evil will. "The things I would not, those I do: the good which I would, I do not. Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" And when Paul comes to his marvellous eighth chapter and has the seer's vision of the cosmos, and peers down the long corridors of time to God's far-off Divine event, he sees the whole creation working out through pain and travail, through limitation and imperfection, through physical anguish and mental grief, tribulations of body and birth-pangs of soul, towards the "revealing of the sons of God"—

the manifestation in men of the spirit which was in Jesus Christ, the "firstborn of many brethren." *The cosmic culmination is moral and spiritual Christlike character.* This doctrinal epistle, written by Paul the Theologian, concludes with five chapters—nearly a third of the work—consisting mostly of direct, practical exhortations to the living of the moral and spiritual life! This treatise on theology subordinates all religious intellectualism to practical Christlike ends. "If any man hath not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His" (viii. 9).

The Epistle to the Galatians is radically a passionate protest against the Jewish substitution of external observances for inward character: "In Jesus Christ, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything, but faith working through love" (v. 5). The First Epistle to the Corinthians solves the several problems of the Corinthian Church—division, litigation, the eating of meat offered to idols, the esteem and grading of spiritual gifts in the Church—by one master principle — emphasis upon Love. The thirteenth chapter—the Hymn of Charity—is no alien sweetness, accidentally finding its way into the writings of the Church disciplinarian and dogmatic theologian, but it is rather the gathering together of all the arguments of the epistle: it is not only the centre of its chapters but the heart of its message.

The most theological passage of the Epistles—the kenosis verses of the Philippian letter—is introduced, not for its own intellectual interest, but to reinforce a simple moral appeal for humble service—"Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God . . . emptied Himself," etc. (ii. 6). Nor must the cosmosophies of Colossians obscure for us such practical exhortations as "Put on therefore, as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another, if any man have a complaint against any: put

on love: let the peace of God rule in your hearts" (iii. 2). Such instances may, of course, be multiplied in every epistle. Paul was faithful to the ethical and spiritual tradition which first drew him to Christ, and never allowed his new daring interest and fascinating speculations to dim that light of the gospel of Galilee. They are means to the end of Christian character. He clearly recognizes the true proportions of the body of Christian teaching and practice: the ethical and spiritual is central and permanent. Prophecies are to be done away: tongues shall cease: knowledge changes as fuller light comes, but faith, hope and love abide, and the greatest is love.

We need not be surprised that when some of the apologetics for Christian speculation failed, and time and experience frustrated certain cherished hopes and showed the falsity of certain emphasized ideas, the Church did not collapse. Its real foundations were elsewhere. The sands of speculation shifted and wasted, but Christianity was founded upon a rock. The conquest of the Roman Empire by the Church during the first three centuries of the Christian era—its most striking period of expansion—was not due to its speculative theologies and metaphysical dogmas: the Gentile world had its own wisdom, a sensitive intellectualism, a keen philosophic sense. On these lines, what could Christianity teach it? The Church of the Galilean conquered primarily because His greatest interpreters and His humblest disciples had been faithful to the Christian "way of life," and had manifested to the world the Master's spirit of courage, love, forgiveness, overcoming evil with good.

V

Among the elements of Prophetism to be found in Paul, must be reckoned the nature of the man himself. Christianity has persisted and been perpetuated largely

through a tradition of personality. Its theology has been subordinate to its humanism. "*Ye* are the light of the world." Much of Paul's influence upon Christendom has proceeded from his own personality and character. He stands among the glorious company of the world's great men. His personality commands New Testament history. His Christian faith stimulates a richly endowed nature, and his richly endowed nature proved one of the greatest assets to the faith which converted him. From first to last he displays the god-like gift of enthusiasm. He will show himself head and shoulders above his fellows, whether in persecuting Christianity or in propagating and defending it. No "unlit lamp or ungirt loin" for him! He would have shared Dante's contempt for the colourless souls, not good enough for heaven and not bad enough for hell. He will throw into whatever course he takes, the full energy of a passionate nature.

Religion comes to mean everything to him. He is one of the "God-intoxicated" souls. The one thing worth living for is to glorify God, as he conceives the meaning of that glorification. Religion holds him as a bond-slave. He has an overpowering sense of "vocation." This leads him to a doctrine of election. Christian believers are picked-out men for service, and they must make their calling and election sure by fulfilling their possibilities of service. He himself has been called to do a certain thing in the world, and to that heavenly vision he dare not be disobedient. He was born for it (Gal i. 15).

VI

The large scale of his ambitions is impressive. He came among a band of Christians, very faithful on narrow ground, but with no Imperialism of vision. Judea might be converted—even Samaria and Tyre and Sidon, but as to Paul, "the world is his parish."

Crete, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Athens, Corinth, Rome and even further afield, "the gates of the West"—Spain: from all these he heard the cry—"Come over and help us!"

The same breadth and boldness characterized his thought and sympathy. Christianity was in peril of becoming nothing better than a reformed sect of Judaism without the genius of universality. Its leaders, compared with Paul, seem to have been somewhat dull, unimaginative, tradition-bound men, feeling that religion must always be marked with Mosaic externalities. Probably Stephen was an exception: we believe that in nature, this martyr came near his persecutor. Paul throughout challenged the spirit of provincialism in Christianity and his fight for Galatia was partly for the supremacy of the spiritual principle in religion: partly a struggle for the universality of the gospel. Against the strong and paralyzing force of religious tradition, he dared to use prophetic common sense. On the other hand, we may realize that this emancipation was not made without a struggle: he loved his nation and its faith: he was proud of the history of both: he was not an iconoclast through natural perverseness: there is a little of the Jew and the Pharisee in him to the end, but when the pillar of fire moved on he could not linger on what was yesterday's holy ground. With the writer of Hebrews he shared the great thought of the progressiveness of living faith.

His intellectualism showed the same breadth and sympathy. Peter looked out upon the world with suspicious Jewish eyes, but Paul, we conceive, boldly sought to incorporate the wisdom of the great world of Greek philosophy, of Stoic morality, of Alexandrianism, and even was willing to take the suggestiveness of the Mystery cults. He would frame a greater Christianity and place in it all he could find true and spiritual, suggestive and appealing. He would be debtor to Jew, Greek, Barbarian! He dared to handle the great

themes and to think in cosmic terms. We note his picture of the whole creation straining towards God's far-off Divine event, and mark those frequent cosmic touches—all things were created by Christ, the creative Logos: all things return to Him and He hands the Kingdom to the Father that He may be all in all!

VII

One notes Paul's genius as an organizer. He laid the foundations of an enduring ecclesiastical community. He knew how to deal with men; to appeal to different classes; in a worthy sense "to be all things to all men." He could be gentle and severe: he could persuade with the entreaty of love or threaten with the rod of authority. He is more, however, than organizer and theologian. He is not unjustly called *Saint* Paul. His letters reveal a great heart: he rejoices with them that rejoice and weeps with them that weep. He is sensitive to the woundings of affection and overjoyed when the hearts of men respond to his yearning of soul for them. He is rich in humanism. He is ever speaking of love and fellowship. In his epistles, the Sermon on the Mount is always reappearing. There is, as we have seen, an often unrecognized largeness in Paul of that element which we find in the Synoptic Gospels—the stress upon humility, mercy, service, forgiveness, overcoming evil with good. Personal humility is combined with a certain self-confidence and assertiveness. Paul regards his personal advantages and privileges of no account in contrast with finishing his course with joy in Christ. There is a divine self-effacement. "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me." Where he appears self-assertive and even egotistical, it is because he serves in a foreign territory as the "ambassador of Christ." He preaches and practises the gospel of Courage and Sacrifice—"Of the Jews five times I received forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods: once was I

stoned: thrice I suffered shipwreck: a night and a day have I been in the deep: in journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own countrymen, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren: in labour and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness (2 Cor. xi. 24).

Not that he is without faults. The appeal of the personality and character of Paul need not be made to rest on an exaggerated or idealized estimate. We must not dehumanize by canonizing. Paul could be hard and intolerant on occasion. He could anathematize! He saw his own standpoint, conceived that that represented the will of God, and set his face hard against any other possibility of legitimate view. But after all, such men as these are those who carry new truth to victorious recognition. Men of more balanced judgment may suffer the paralysis of seeing both sides! Paul's weaknesses, as Wrede claims, "are the defects incident to his virtues and Paul is able to bear their exposure. . . . The sharpest contrasts were united in this richly endowed nature. Pertinacious and impulsive, turbulent and stable: inconsiderate and tender: in his intolerance, bitter to the point of hardness and acrimony, and yet a man of soft sensibility: unyielding and yet pliant: all enthusiasm and glow, all sober prudence: a thinker, a mediator, yet even more a restless toiler—no scheme will suffice to comprehend the whole man. His character is far from being reducible to that harmony which can be allotted to more tranquil souls. But one spirit breathes through it all: it is permeated by the one great thought of his life which arises out of his religion. For this he toils, sacrifices, strives, lives and dies. And so he remains not only a great but a noble character: a faithful steward: to his very depths an unselfish fighter and a true hero" ("Paul," pp. 39, 40).

VIII

It is sometimes charged against Paul that he has obscured the plain human teaching of Galilee with intellectual elaborations and speculations. We cry—"Back to Christ," to the Man of Nazareth, the Preacher of Galilee, with His plain, understandable gospel of love, mercy, humility, kindliness, truth, courage and sacrifice. We claim that the soul of religion is not to be sought in the intellectual domain. The Church's divisions, unedifying quarrels, dogmatic bondages have proceeded from this unhappy theological and intellectual turn given to Christianity by Paul.

But the First Epistle to the Corinthians should leave us in no doubt as to where Paul's emphasis really did lie—on love rather than intellectualism: on Christian character rather than on knowledge which changed and passed. Yet, on the other hand, the facing of intellectual problems was after all a natural development of Christianity. Man is a whole and has a mind as well as a soul. He must inevitably ask his questions about the universe, and his answers have reactions upon his faith and life. Religious philosophy must be wedded to spiritual aspiration and moral practice, if we must gain that vaster music of "mind and soul according well." We must face the problems of the nature of the soul, its destiny and relation to God. That was what Paul attempted—far from successfully in many respects, and yet much remains valid. Among many fallen stones, certain great pillars stand out boldly against the sky. The great thought of the union of human and divine, pain as the travail-pangs of progress, the idea of life as a growth for the revealing of moral values, the conception of the cosmic love of God from which neither life nor death, things present nor things to come, can separate us—these and many other elements of Pauline thought remain precious truths in modern

faith. Paul inherited from philosophies which have permanent value, and discovered the real religious significance of them.

IX

But as we have suggested already, the chief value of Paul, even as a theological teacher, is not as an intellectualist, but as *a witness to spiritual intuitions and experiences*. To one trained by traditional Christianity to expect infallibility in apostolic writings, no discovery is more startling than that of the faulty and temporary nature of some of Paul's thought-forms. The apostle largely belonged to his own age both in the matter and method of his writings. We are constantly coming up against some unconvincing piece of Rabbinical reasoning, some unscientific use of the Old Testament, confusions between allegory and fact, sober acceptance of fantastic Rabbinical or Gnostic beliefs concerning Adam's sin, transactions with demons and the like. These forms we cannot justify as forms, but they point to something greater than themselves. These pseudo-scientific explanations were only introduced because there was something real to be explained. In some respects Paul speaks in a dead language—a dead, and for us, misleading tongue of first-century thoughts and ideas, but he has a meaning of experience which he wants to convey by it. His theologies were more or less attempts to express and explain his experiences of soul, and in reading Paul's writings we need to ask repeatedly—what are the experiences underlying this form or that? Our task in treating Paul is not to justify his forms but to discover the underlying experiences which they indicate. As theologian, Paul must not be measured by the unnatural expectation of infallibility, nor ought we even to judge and test his qualities of mind and the values of his teaching by the standards of knowledge and faith

reached by the mental and spiritual development of our own time. We must rather realize his place by appreciating his contribution of thought and spirit to a new Christianity which was only slowly finding itself and working out something of its meaning: a Christianity, not delivered cut and dry and complete, but evolving itself gradually in contact with the world of experience.

X

Paul stands out as an Apostle of *Christian Freedom*. He has exercised a large liberalizing influence upon faith. His sense of the inwardness of religion and revelation, a consciousness of the spiritual essentials of faith and the secondary nature of external forms, and a recognition of the progressiveness of religious thought (1 Cor. xiii. 10), found expression in a doctrine of liberty with widespread applications. He refused to be bound by Jewish externalities. They were at the best "only a shadow of things to come" (Col. ii. 16-17). He claimed freedom from the tyranny of circumcision, the bondage of the law, from ascetic tradition (Rom. xiv.; 1 Cor. vi. 12 *ff.*), and even from conventions imposed by the scruples of others, although this last was to be modified by the law of Christian consideration, helpfulness and love. The apostle also claimed a freedom of thought: he would not be fettered by those at Jerusalem, "reputed to be somewhat" (Gal. ii. 6). The ministry of the new covenant is of the Spirit: "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (2 Cor. iii. 6), although we must consider with these assertions of freedom, Paul's obvious deference to the "oracles of God"—the Jewish Scriptures. We must also remember that he could anathematize those who thought differently from himself! Another kind of spiritual freedom—perhaps suggested by Stoic thought—emerges in Paul's teaching

that the inner man, fortified by the Spirit, may have liberty from the material cares, anxieties and misfortunes of the natural man (Phil. iv. 11).

XI

We may note Paul's immediate *literary influence*. "It may fairly be said," claims Dr. Percy Gardner ("An Historical View of the New Testament," p. 182), "that but for the work of Paul nearly half a century before, the Fourth Gospel could never have come into being. It had its origin in Ephesus, in one of the Churches nurtured and founded by Paul. It assumes a change in the conception of the nature of Jesus Christ which was mainly the result of Pauline influence." The Fourth Gospel has its own independent features: the writer was a man of originality: but Pauline influence had probably affected him in two ways. There was the direct teaching of Paul: and secondly, the problems raised in the early Church by Paul's ideas, awaited solutions which lay to some extent beyond Paul's provision. Paul had broken into a Hellenistic world of thought, but Christianity needed more than one interpreter before it found its place in the new culture. There was not finality in Paul's teaching. Paul had to be followed by the Fourth Evangelist, and the Fourth Evangelist by the philosophers of Alexandria—Clement and Origen—each marking a further stage in the development. The Hellenizing tendency has gone further in the Fourth Gospel than in Paul. "John" introduces his gospel in the very terms of the Greek philosophic schools—"In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God and the Logos was God." Sacramentalism has become more pronounced, so that Schweitzer, who denies the influence of the Mysteries upon St. Paul, acknowledges that in the Fourth Gospel, Christianity has become "the most

developed Greek Mystery religion which it is possible to conceive." On the other hand, sacramentalism had been long enough in the Church to have revealed its dangers as well as its values (E. F. Scott, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 126). The death of Christ in the work of the Atonement finds less emphasis in the Fourth Gospel than in Paul, but the doctrine of salvation by mystic union is stressed. The doctrine of Incarnation comes more into prominence, and teachings concerning the Holy Spirit are elaborated. The figure of the Paraclete is introduced. But apart from such differences, which show the independence, originality and genius of the Fourth Evangelist, there are remarkable similarities, showing how the later writer had appreciated the deeper elements of Paulinism, and how largely the Fourth Gospel's special characteristics and distinctions from the earlier gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, were due to Paul. We may regard the Fourth Gospel *as a showing forth of the Logos Christ, as Paul had come to conceive Him, in the historic dress of an earthly ministry.* The Synoptics had shown a more human and historically convincing figure. Paul had been led to conceive a bold doctrine concerning this Christ in His deeper metaphysical significance. Christ was the object of the mystic's faith. Christ was the Creator of the world, and the Power holding all things together. He was the Giver of Life and Light. This Christ of worship, of inward experience, of exalted Logos powers, is brought back by the Fourth Evangelist to earth, to tread the human ways again, but with the vast change which Paul's interpretation had made in Him. Almost at every point this involves differences with the Synoptic accounts. We have here a figure with a halo treading the paths of the prophet of Nazareth: we have an "impressionist" rather than a "photographic" picture. We cannot treat the Fourth Gospel as we treat the other three, but it has its own rich value of suggestiveness and allegorical worth.

We have here, then, Paul's " Christ of experience " set by a Paulinist into the Gospel framework of the Synoptic's " Jesus of history." And on the other hand, if we enter into sympathetic appreciation of this allegorical and mystical gospel, we are helped to understand Paul, and to see the value of that development of thought for which, we believe, he was mainly responsible. One of the best commentaries of Paul's thought and Paul's Christ is to be found in the fourteenth and following chapters of John's Gospel.*

XII

On the side of general Christian history, we conceive that Paul's great achievement was the carrying forward of Christian thought from the narrower to the broader school. Others, doubtless, contributed to this momentous change, but the eminence given to Paul by the early Christian Church together with our ability to trace and understand such a development in his own thought from a Jewish apocalyptic to a Hellenistic stage, powerfully suggests that we have in Paul, the chief agent in the transition. One could have wished for more light on Paul's earlier thought and the beliefs of the primitive Christian community and the relations of the Hellenistic and Palestinian Christian groups at the time of the apostle's conversion. Our reconstruction of history must be largely conjectural. But if we may not determine with certainty the exact nature and measure of Paul's agency, we may

* In some respects the Epistle to the Hebrews belongs to the second stage of New Testament thought. It has marked Hellenistic features. From its own premises and along its own lines it reaches some of Paul's positions. But the differences between it and the Pauline epistles " not only preclude Pauline authorship: they show conclusively that Paul can have had nothing to do with the Epistle directly or indirectly. It is in no sense a Pauline epistle, and only in the loosest sense could it be spoken of as Pauline in theology " (" Century Bible," Hebrews, p. 33: Dr. A. S. Peake).

definitely place him as identified with and conspicuously serving the momentous movement the beginnings and ends of which stand in quite clear historical light. In such service Paul widened the appeal of Christianity and made it possible to win the world of the West. We may recognize three ways in which this broadened appeal was made.

XIII

(*a*) There was a wholesome liberation from Jewish restrictions—the mechanical externalities of circumcision, ceremonial food laws, observances of days and the like. Paul and the men of his school were religious liberals who came forward at a time when liberalism was vital to the further progress of the gospel. It must not be supposed that the liberalism of Paul meant laxity: breadth was not at the sacrifice of depth. Paul's influence was towards universalism and broadmindedness, but not towards indefiniteness and intellectual and moral license. His emancipation of Christianity proceeded upon definite lines: he was a prophet, certainly not of anarchy in religion, but of a new orientation, a religious re-statement, with a very decided setting. He would have no sympathy with our modern "think-what-you-please, believe-what-you-like, nothing-in-the-world-matters" attitude. Paul was not liberal in that sense of indifferentism. "If any man preacheth unto you any gospel other than that which ye received, let him be anathema!" (Gal. i. 9)—but the apostle had insight to see that many things insisted upon by duller conservative people mattered nothing, and he refused to be bound by them, or allow Christianity to be handicapped by them. He had no patience with merely stereotyped religion, frozen beliefs, petrified virtues, the doing of things simply because the fathers did them. He was able to discriminate, in part at any rate, between the core of spiritual religion and its accidental externalities. He

knew what mattered and what did not, and it was a circumstance of profoundest importance that there was such a one to come forward at this critical time in the history and fortunes of Christianity to emancipate it from its wrappings of Jewish traditionalism. His commonsense liberalism opened out Christianity to the Gentile world, and at the same time, the task of dividing the essential from the secondary elements of faith involved in presenting the gospel of Christ to the Gentiles, led to the recognition of its inwardness and its vital features.

XIV

(*b*) Again, Paul introduced into Christianity new elements which commended it to the more thoughtful people of the West, and, indeed, of all lands in all time. In the characteristic teaching of the broader school, there was a stimulus and a permanent value and reality. Where the earlier school went beyond the ethical teaching of Jesus, it did not build particularly successfully. It made much of prophecy, but in a manner so unscientific that we see the use discredited in our age of more precise historical understanding of Old Testament passages. It is suggested that the attempt to identify Jesus with the Jewish Messiah by the argument of prophecy, failed in controversy with the Jews, and the New Testament apologists of Christianity had to seek profounder categories for their Christological thought ("Apologetic of the New Testament," E. F. Scott, pp. 51, 60). This failure matters little to our faith, since we realize that, after all, Messiahship was only a curious local and passing conception. Nor was the emphasis on wonder-working and miracle—the "signs" cherished by the Jewish-Christian school (Acts ii. 22; iv. 10, etc.)—a feature with spiritual value. Paul rightly subordinates the psychical element in the early Church to the weightier matters of faith, hope and love. He

ethicises the idea of the Spirit. He makes much less of miracle than the Synoptists. He lays stress on the Resurrection, not as a miracle of Messianic identification as the earlier preachers did, but because he has a place for it in his scheme of redemption from the bondage of the world-rulers of darkness, and possibly because it supports his doctrine of a Christ who still lives in his own soul. The reference to the Jews who "seek after a sign" is unsympathetic.

Once more, the earlier thought was unhappy in its emphasis upon the Second Coming. It proved a most unprofitable and unjustified line of expectation. True enough, it appeared also in Paul, but in his developed thought it pales before other convictions which have shown themselves to be of more lasting value. This greatest piece of speculation in the earlier thought—Second Adventism—has broken down and fallen away in the living thought of the Church. It has not stood the test of time. Its story is one of follies, mockings and disappointments throughout the generations.

But the case is other with the new speculation which we suggest was introduced by Paul into Christianity—the doctrine of Christ as the Divine Spirit in the universe, known inwardly to the pure in heart and bringing the world into harmony with God: the Greek idea of the Logos "baptized into Christianity," and conveying rich significance by identification with Jesus of Nazareth. Christianity was given a turn which made it possible for philosophical thinkers like Origen and Clement of Alexandria and Augustine and many another, to find in it not only moral satisfaction but intellectual stimulus and worth. This was due to the fact that Paul turned rather to the West than to native Judaism for the elaboration and profounder categories of his faith. It was the genius of Greek thought from the age of Thales, six centuries before Christ, to seek that "Return to Nature" for the basis of knowledge, which

has characterized all the great periods of human thought and development. Great thinkers had turned from the fantastic mythologies and cosmologies of an earlier Homeric age to try, however imperfectly, to find the truth of things in human observation and experience. It was the age in which science was born, and philosophy found its foundations. From idle myths and legendary traditions of the gods and their work, men turned and sought reality in first-hand experience. They had embarked on a stupendous task which is still proceeding, but the new attitude itself was a great achievement. A rich age of discovery followed. The generations of Greek thought preceding the entry of Christianity into the Gentile world provided a permanent contribution to philosophical speculation. Paul himself was not a precise philosopher. Paulinism as a system is mixed and calls for discriminating study, but something of the Reality which Greek philosophy had discovered by its Return to Nature, had entered into Pauline thought-forms, and become incorporated into Christian doctrine. The apostle himself was working out his new positions by the Greek method of appeal to experience. It has been significantly said that " Paul *thought*—later churchmen *quoted*."

The result of Paul's work, then, was a Renaissance of religious speculation, based on Reality and a " Return to Nature " in the things of faith. In ethics Paul did not advance beyond his Master. In speculative religious thought, however, he made a new contribution. The need for such a development was involved in the carrying of Christianity into a new world of thought, and Paul rose to the occasion. In theology he marked a stupendous advance upon the limited and somewhat artificial ideas of the earlier and narrower school of Jewish Christians. He worked out, if by no means an infallible and perfect theology (he was too much under Rabbinical influence for that!), yet, at any rate,

a *suggestive* theology, incorporating the Reality of Greek thinking, and capable of being treated and developed by minds more precise and logical than that of Paul. Prophecy, miracle, Messiahism, Second Adventism were weedy growths: but the Logos doctrine of Paul and his school was a seed for an oak tree able to resist the storms of ages of acute and critical thought. Christianity was made on its speculative side, intelligible and acceptable to the intellectual world.

XV

(*c*) We are not inclined to attribute to the Mysteries any great theological influence on Paul's doctrine of Christ. It seems to us highly improbable that the conception of the Lord Jesus was borrowed from the idea of the pagan lords of the Mysteries by either Paul or some Hellenistic Christian. Such direct borrowing would, we believe, have created a sense of intolerable outrage in the mind of a Jew or of a disciple of Christ. The process of deification, as far as it is found in Paulinism, can be explained by certain tendencies arising from the idea of an Enochian Messiah, and further stimulated by Alexandrian Logos doctrines. These influences, by a more or less natural development, created a Christological form having some superficial resemblances to the κυριοι of the Mysteries. If the Kyrios conceptions of the Mysteries became associated in Hellenistic circles with the Lord Christ, it was only after this stage of independent Christological development had been reached. At this stage, however, the Mystery resemblance may have begun to play a part, not in the shaping of the doctrine of Christ—for this, we believe, had already assumed its general form—but in gathering around the Christ conception certain sacramental ideas, found in the Mystery cults. With this view of the process, we find

no sudden break or borrowing, but one stage leads on naturally to the next. Jesus is identified with the apocalyptic Enochian Messiah, a supernatural mediator: the conception deepens in the Logos thought, already partly worked out in Jewish Alexandrian circles, and having a double idea of mediatorship, hierarchical (bringing it near to the apocalyptic notion of mediatorship) and philosophical (an immanental Logos, or a Logos of inward mystic experience). A divinity with the dual features of apocalyptic mediator and inward mystic presence, was sufficiently like the deities of the mystery cults to make the mystic practices of the latter suggestive, and sooner or later, almost inevitably, Christianity would find its mystic Christ realized through some kind of sacramentarian practice. Paul was undoubtedly conscious of the resemblances between Christianity and the Mysteries: the Lord's Supper as he explains it has striking mystery features of mystic communion. He holds a doctrine of baptism which suggests mystic assimilation with a deity who died and rose again. But whether Paul uses the current Mystery doctrines as only literary figures, or reads their significance into the Christian sacraments, is none too clear. Our own view is that the apostle discovered the value of "suggestion" for Christian worship: he realized the aids to a helpful and wholesome mystical experience, and thereby made Christianity appealing to a further class of people, finding the need of symbolic and suggestive conditions of worship. The Greek Mysteries had expressed a human need and found a certain measure of satisfaction and help in their practices of initiation and communion, and Paul, we conceive, with that insight and genius for assimilation which characterized him and all fresh and original thinkers, shaped Christianity into a cult in some ways resembling the Mysteries, with initiations and sacraments making a psychological appeal to folk who were untouched by the intellectual philosophies of the age—

a cult, however, associated with the highest ethical teaching which the world has known, and with the sacramental action interpreted in the spirit of that ethical teaching. Religious mysticism also, as Paul presented it, meant more than a kind of physical contact—it was nothing without ethical harmony, and its issue must be further ethical inspiration. It was union with that Christ who had taught a gospel of love and purity. Between the "tables of devils" and the "table of the Lord" there were worlds of ethical difference! For mixed good and evil, Paul, we find it possible to believe, made the Church sacramental: he stole, as it were, the thunders of the contemporary Mystery cults: he was able to incorporate into Christianity their undoubted values, but he wedded them to an ethical passion: to that high morality, for which Judaism had a genius, and which had culminated in the teaching of Jesus.

XVI

In these ways Paul made Christianity appealing to the Gentile world: to its learned people, in some measure, through his sympathy with Greek philosophical ideas, even if sometimes unphilosophically regarded: to its masses by an adoption of the psychological values of the Mysteries: to the Gentiles generally, by a wise shedding of Jewish idiosyncrasies.*

By this process of translation, Christianity became

* Loisy ("Les Mystères Païens," pp. 340 *ff*). claims that Mystery influence widened the ideas of God, Christ, and Salvation, from Israelite to universalistic forms. This was the significance of the general Hellenistic movement of Christianity, but surely influences other than that of the Mysteries (the extent of which influence remains conjectural) operated in the translation of Christianity from its Judaistic to its Hellenistic forms. The Mysteries, it seems to us, only provided a category for expressing conceptions which had already been largely worked out on independent lines. If the Mysteries contributed any quite new element, we conceive it to have been a psychological one—the methods of practical mysticism.

richer, profounder, more spiritual in itself. Faith grows by being taken into wider worlds. Every encounter with a new civilization or system may enrich it in a double way: it is stimulated by the suggestiveness of other forms of truth and practice: and its own exponents and translators, in their work of translation, are compelled to find out the things which really matter, the genius and the basic truth of their own faith. Without Paul's work of translation, Christianity might have become a new legalism, a temporarily reformed Judaism, a limited Jewish sect, sooner or later dying out on its own soil, pot-bound. It would have been shut off from the stimulus and co-operation of the thought of the larger world. It would have lost the intellectual strength of Greece, and the organizing genius of Rome. It would have been marked by the externalities of Mosaism—circumcision and the like. It would have been prevented from becoming a world-faith because of its hard, unyielding, stereotyped nature. Greece, Rome and further Europe would have been as much untouched by it as they were by Judaism. But more serious still—*Christianity would never have "found itself," without these wider contacts.* There would have been no discriminating of central and secondary beliefs: no clear sense of the universal elements of religion and their superior values over accidental Jewish forms associated with them. The need and the process of translation also brought and kept to the fore the doctrine of Christianity as a religion of the spirit. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Faith was greater than its particular forms. Religion was more than the systems which had their day and ceased to be. The emancipation of Christianity implied a doctrine of progressiveness. Christianity expanded not only in numerical allegiance, but in intellectual content. A faith that could be translated was a faith that could grow. But in the growth, there must be one element which should remain central

and constant. "According to the grace of God which was given unto me, as a wise master-builder, I laid a foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let each man take heed how he buildeth thereon. For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid—*which is Jesus Christ*" (1 Cor. iii. 10, 11).

XVII

We have sought to interpret Paul's doctrines in terms of Prophetic Religion, and to find under his forms and systems, some experience and truth, which can be understood and appreciated in the light of eternal and universal religious experience. We believe that he can stand the tests of such an enquiry, and, in as far as he does so, he has a meaning for modern faith and life. We do not claim for a moment that the apostle himself would have so exclusively regarded and interpreted his teaching. He lived in his own age, and thought its thought, and the significance of Supernaturalism in the Natural was imperfectly conceived in Paul's generation and community. But this is the interpretation of religion to which the evolution of thought leads us, and it gives us a faith as convincing as it is helpful, and helpful because it is convincing. To apocalyptic ideas we do not object, if these are regarded as symbolic truth, and in this way related to the ordered evolutionary processes of human life and experience. They provide the language for the larger intuitions of life, and help to convey their truths. They set large sweeps of history in concise, pictorial form. They may isolate features of the universe in such a way that their significance can be realized and imparted. Man needs to see the wood as well as the trees. Apocalypse may remind us of the deeper significance of figures and events which we regard in a common way, because they emerge in a common world. But apocalypse is of value only when its true place and

nature is respected. Sacrament, too, has its place, as symbol of the common sacramentalism of human life—the Supernatural in the Natural: and as means of psychological "suggestion" for truths which have their origin and justification along "Prophetic" lines. Beyond this legitimate and wholesome use, it lends itself to magic and superstition. "Prophetism" must be central, or both apocalypse and sacrament manifest serious religious dangers. The purpose of our study has chiefly been to proportion and relate these elements in the teaching of the most creative figure in the history of New Testament speculation.

XVIII

With this emphasis on Prophetic religion, a more general truth appears. Christianity is seen as a system, not coming as revelation from some foreign sphere, but arising from human experience and universal intuitions, and its essential truths will ever be finding confirmation in human experience. There is a sense in which Augustine's statement is true—"That which is called the Christian religion, existed among the ancients, and was not wanting from the beginning of the human race." These eternal instincts of human personality have found supremely helpful expression in the teachings of Jesus Christ. The service He has rendered has been to help men to find in themselves the wells of living water springing up unto eternal life. In some measure, also, these instincts of faith have found expression in the doctrines which have gathered around the figure of our Lord. Christian theology has been a medium for expressing these universal feelings, needs and satisfactions of the human soul, and that has been the secret of its appeal and permanence. We must seek its true significance in the light of our deepest spiritual and moral intuitions and experiences.

XIX

Such essential and fundamental religion seems very simple. Its expressions may be many, complex, bewildering, but the root elements are few, and these remain with a permanence which gives them the quality of trustworthy axiom. Our soul's eternal home is in God and towards Him our hearts reach out with a homing instinct. "Thou hast made us for Thine own self and our hearts are restless till they rest in Thee." We have certain ethical instincts of duty and freedom. In our sense that we are members one of another, we have a practical direction for the use of these instincts. We are conscious of a Divine Urging which impels us to act, to struggle, to express our fullest nature, apart from reasoned calculation of results, or from any wisdom of "profit-and-loss" philosophy. Sons of ignorance and night, how can we *argue* out the ultimate wisdom of effort and sacrifice? How do we know that the struggle aught avails—may not the labours and the wounds be vain? Omar and Koheleth reflecting on the world with the spirit of worldly wisemen, may declare a pessimistic conclusion which tends to leave our souls paralyzed and our hands nerveless. But we are conscious of a Divine Urging and a sense of a Divine Wisdom. From the depths of our nature comes the healthy realization that will and effort have meaning, and serve some purpose beyond our sight.

We live and move and have our being in God. We have the power of knowing when we are in harmony with Him. This is essentially salvation and life. Equally distinct is our sense of disharmony—the sense of Sin. The harmonizing of the soul with God is found in the Way taught by Jesus. In the experiences of men through nineteen centuries, confirmation has been found of the truth that our Lord has the words of

eternal life: that He came that men might have life and have it more abundantly: and in this moral fact is the truth of that doctrine of Salvation, around which strange theories have gathered, the significance of which lies not in themselves but in that to which they point. Our mystic intuition assures us that we are in a world of Eternal Goodness, and that from the Love of God, neither life, nor death, things present nor things to come, can separate us. To these fundamental truths Paul's whole teaching bears witness.

XX

The vessel of Paul's theological thought-forms must be broken before to-day's world can be filled with the odour of the ointment: but this done, what remains? The great truths of the moral and spiritual supremacy of our Lord: of a renewed life realized in following His example and teaching: more than this—our lives are hidden with Christ in God: our largest self lies in the wealth of the Oversoul: Christ is still known to the pure in heart. He is

> "No dead fact stranded on the shore
> Of the oblivious years,
>
> "But warm, sweet, tender, even yet
> A present help is He:
> And Faith has still its Olivet,
> And Love its Galilee."

These are the eternal Prophetic elements in Paul, confirmable by reason, intuition and experience, explaining his appeal to spiritual men in all generations, and constituting the value of his gospel to our own.

LIST OF REFERENCES TO TEXTS

OLD TESTAMENT AND APOCRYPHA

	PAGES
Exodus xxiv. 6-8	184
Psalm cx. 1	61, 65
Proverbs viii. 22 *ff.*	107
Amos v. 22-24	156
Hosea xiv. 2	156
Isaiah i. 13-17	156
,, liii.	93, 156, 184
Micah vi. 6-8	156
Daniel xii. 2	95
2 Maccabees vii. 38	156
4 ,, vi. 29	156
Tobit v. 21	64
,, xii. 12	64
Wisdom of Solomon i. 4	161
,, ,, vii. 17	161
,, ,, viii. 3	107
,, ,, viii. 27	161
,, ,, ix. 4	107
,, ,, ix. 18	161
,, ,, xiii., xiv.	127
,, ,, xv. 3	161

NEW TESTAMENT

	PAGES
Matthew viii. 2	61
,, xv. 27	61
,, xx. 1-16	210
Luke xiii. 8	61
,, xiv. 21	61
,, xv.	210
,, xvii. 7	210
,, xviii. 9-14	210
John i. 3	110
,, xvi. 7	123
Acts i. 5	104
,, ii.	60
,, ii. 22	226
,, ii. 22-24	95
,, ii. 31	93
,, ii. 34	61 *f.*
,, iii. 6, 16	173
,, iv. 10	226
,, v. 31	157
,, vi. 11	72
,, vi. 52	72
,, vii.	63
,, vii. 58	58
,, viii. 1, 3	58
,, ix. 1	59
,, ix. 1-16	74
,, ix. 28	59
,, x.	76
,, xi. 28	87
Acts xiii.	87
,, xiii. 38	84
,, xiv. 21 *f.*	87
,, xv. 1, 2	79
,, xvii. 28	54
,, xvii. 22 *f.*	82, 128
,, xviii. 24, 26	101
,, xviii. 25, 26	104
,, xix. 5, 6	104
,, xix. 9, 31	100
,, xix. 13-18	173
,, xx. 19, 31	197
,, xxii.	74
,, xxii. 5	59
,, xxii. 4, 5	59
,, xxvi.	74
,, xxvi. 10	59
,, xxvi. 10, 11	59
Romans i. 21	128
,, i. 18-22	127
,, iv. 5	209
,, v. 3	197
,, vi. 1 *ff.*	175
,, vi. 3	174
,, vi. 3 *ff.*	181
,, vii. 24	14
,, viii.	143, 196
,, viii. 9	213
,, viii. 11	174

	PAGES
Romans viii. 22	109
„ x. 9	62
„ xi. 25	193
„ xi. 25-32	203
„ xiv.	221
„ xvi. 25	193
1 Corinthians i. 12, 18 *f.*	103
„ i. 14-17	189
„ ii. 1, 6 *f.*	103
„ ii. 2	65
„ ii. 8	148
„ iii. 5, 9, 22	102
„ iii. 10, 11	233
„ iv. 1	193
„ v. 5	173, 189
„ vi. 11	177
„ vi. 12	221
„ vii. 4	109
„ vii. 10	43
„ viii. 5, 6	70
„ ix. 14	43
„ x. 33, 138, 175, 182, 187	
„ x. 14	110, 187
„ x. 16, 20, 21	185
„ xi.	43, 183, 185
„ xi. 23	188
„ xi. 30	173
„ xii. 12 *f.*	182
„ xiii.	213
„ xiii. 2	193
„ xiii. 10	221
„ xv.	43, 141
„ xv. 1 *ff.*	66
„ xv. 9	59
„ xv. 23	54
„ xv. 28	109
„ xv. 29	173, 177
„ xv. 33-50	51
„ xv. 51	193
2 Corinthians i. 22	174
„ iii. 5	174
„ iii. 6	221
„ iv. 4, 17	197
„ v. 1-8	203
„ v. 5	174
„ v. 6	43
„ v. 21	163
„ xi. 24	218
„ xii. 8	63
Galatians i. 9	225
„ i. 13	59
„ i. 15	215
„ i. 16	75
Galatians i. 22-23	59
„ ii. 1	90
„ ii. 6	221
„ ii. 11	99
„ ii. 15-21	91
„ ii. 30	110
„ iii. 2, 5	174
„ iii. 2, 5, 6	90
„ iii. 27	176
„ iv. 1-7	209
„ iv. 4	43
„ iv. 6	174
„ v. 5	213
„ v. 22	206
Ephesians i. 9	193
„ ii. 20, 22	169
„ iii. 9	109
„ iv. 6	109
„ iv. 12	169
„ v. 23	169
„ v. 26	165, 176
„ v. 32	193
Philippians i. 12, 14	197
„ i. 19	174
„ ii. 6	109, 213
„ ii. 10	66
„ ii. 11	62
„ ii. 17, 18	197
„ iii. 9	163
„ iv. 11	222
Colossians i. 12-18	113
„ i. 16	109
„ i. 18-24	169
„ i. 24	197
„ i. 26	110
„ i. 27	193
„ ii. 12, 13	175
„ ii. 16, 17	221
„ ii. 18	64
„ ii. 19	169
„ iii. 2	214
1 Thessalonians i. 9	69
„ ii. 14	69
„ iii. 11	65
„ iii. 12	212
„ iv. 9	212
„ iv. 14	94
„ v. 13	93
2 Thessalonians i. 9	202
Titus iii. 5	124
1 John i.	111
Revelation xix. 3	111
„ xxii. 8	64

INDEX

A

Acts, 84 *ff.*
Adam's sin, 51, 152, 163, 220
Adonis, 115
Alexandrianism, 105 *ff.*
Ancestor feasts, 186
Angel worship, 64
Anrich, 126
Apocalypse of Baruch, 50, 51
  of Ezra, 50
Apocalyptic faith, 8 *ff.*, 30, 233
  Origin and significance of, 15 *f.*, 20
Apollos, 101 *ff.*
Aquila and Priscilla, 104
Arianism, 112
Asiarchs, 100
"Assimilative" faith, 32, 85, 115 *ff.*, 143, 146 *f.*, 160 *ff.*, 175 *f.*, 181, 185, 203
Athanasianism, 112 *f.*
Atonement, 156 *ff.*
Attis, 15, 116, 186
Augustine, 141, 234

B

Balfour, A. J., 6
Baptism, 31, 33 *f.*, 94, 170 *ff.*, 175 *ff.*
  for dead, 177 *f.*
  of spirit, 104
Barnabas, 77 *ff.*
"Being-Becoming," 24, 141, 198 *f.*, 201, 208
Bousset, 59, 95
Bucke, 144
Burnet, 160

C

Cephas (or Peter), 61, 67, 88, 90 *f.*, 99, 216
Changing connotation of N.T. terms, 93 *f.*, 145, 147
Character of Paul, 217 *f.*
Charles, 51, 202
Christ, problems of person of, 17, 112
  Divinity of, 26 *ff.*
Christian freedom, 221, 225
Christo-centric emphasis, 41 *f.*, 44, 96, 112 *f.*, 132, 140, 146, 165, 233
Chrysostom, 176
Church, 178, 181, 189 *ff.*, 195, 214
  Rise of, 168 *ff.*
Circumcision, 68, 72, 79 *f.*, 82, 176, 225
Communion meal, 60, 203. (See also Eucharist)
Conversion of Paul, 72 *ff.*
Cosmic consciousness, 141, 144 *f.*, 150, 199 *f.* (See also Mysticism)
Creeds, 11, 31, 112
Cross, 157 *f.*, 184
Cumont, 53, 117 *ff.*
Cybele, 116

D

Dante, 215
Data for "prophetic" religion, 6, 14
"Definitions of Asklepios," 153
Demonology, 51, 152 *f.*, 155, 189
Dieterich, 119
Dionysiac mysteries, 121
"Dying-to-live" parables, 185

E

"Eating the god," 125, 186
Election, 51, 215. (See also Predestination)
Eleusinian mysteries, 120
Emerson, 123
Epistemology, 14
Eschatology, 202 *ff.*
Ethical stress of Paul, 37 *f.*, 211 *ff.*, 231
Eucharist, 31, 33, 94, 182 *f.*
  Value of, 191
Evolutionary history, 10, 16, 18
"Ex opere operato," 32, 171 *f.*, 178, 182
Experience and expression, 17, 75, 132, 139, 146, 159, 190, 201, 220

F

Fairweather, 64, 107
Faith, 78, 90, 94, 164
  and works, 162, 210
  as communion, 147, 165, 194 *f.*
  as cosmic consciousness, 145
  as gnosis, 192 *f.*

Fichte, 201
Findlay, 110
Focke, 55, 107
Formula of analysis, 136
Fourth Gospel, 20, 45, 49, 123, 126, 222 *ff.*
Fox, G., 149
Frazer, 52, 115 *ff.*, 135, 186

G

Gardner, P., 45, 121, 132, 138, 177, 186, 191
Gnosis, 7, 14, 147, 164, 192 *f.*
Gnosticism, 41, 126 *f.*, 153
Grafe, 55

H

Harnack, 42, 83
Harrison, Jane, 121
Hebrews, 216, 224
Heitmüller, 32, 66, 172
Hellenism, 44 *ff.*, 68 *f.*, 131
Hermetic literature, 108, 119, 153

I

Illogicalities, 28 *f.*, 48, 106, 109, 112, 134, 170, 210, 220
Immortality, 197 *ff.*
Incarnation, 16, 23 *ff.*, 113
Inge, 111, 143
Inwardness of religion, 20 *f.*, 43, 150, 209 *ff.*, 234

J

James, W., 10, 15, 141 *ff.*, 194
Jerusalem Council, 68 *f.*, 78
Persecution, 59, 73
Jesus and Paul, 40 *ff.*
John the Baptist, 104, 179 *f.*
Jones, Rufus, 90
Justification, 78, 209 *ff.*

K

Kennedy, 53, 114, 118 *f.*, 121, 127 *f.*, 130, 174, 180, 189, 193
Kyrios, 60 *ff.*, 229

L

Lake, 18, 32 *ff.*, 35 *f.*, 75, 171, 175, 181, 183
Late Judaism, 50. (See Rabbinism)
Law, 139
Logos, 103, 106 *f.*, 109, 111, 222, 227
Loisy, 59, 66 *f.*, 122, 231
Loyola, 148
Luke, 42, 82 *f.*, 85 *ff.*

M

Maccabees, 105, 156
Magic, 7, 34 *f.*, 114 *f.*, 161, 175, 179, 187
Many and One, 16, 24, 107, 141, 199, 201 *f.*
Mark, 78, 81
McGiffert, 85
Mediation, 28 *ff.*, 108 *f.*, 118, 157
Menzies, 82
Messiah, Enochian, 8, 18, 62, 64 *f.*
Messianic expectation, 19, 61, 63, 91 *ff.*
Origin of, 143
Apologetic, 93, 99, 156, 226
Meyer, Ed., 47, 53, 59, 83, 104, 107
Miracle, 8, 20, 91, 226
Missionary accommodation, 137
Values, 231
Mithra, 53, 108, 117 *ff.*
Mithraic Parousia, 118 *f.*
Monism, 15, 141 *f.*, 206
Montefiore, 55
Morgan, 43, 60, 63, 65, 69, 152, 169, 174, 206
Murray, G., 119
Mysteries, 53, 60, 63, 69, 114 *ff.*, 123, 161, 173 *ff.*, 178, 180 *f.*, 186, 189 *f.*, 206, 229 *f.*
Mystery terms, 122, 126, 130
Mystery, the, 192 *f.*
Mysticism, 140 *ff.*

N

Name of Jesus, 124, 173
Norden, 82

O

Optimism, 15, 18, 142, 196
"Oracles of God," 108, 130, 134, 221
Origen, 66
Orphism, 121
Osiris, 115

P

Paganism, Paul's attitude towards. 126 *ff.*
Pantheism, 26, 141
Peake, 170, 224
Personality and Incarnation, 24 *ff.*
of Paul, 215 *ff.*
Petrie, F., 106, 119
Pfleiderer, 48, 53, 101, 118, 163, 176
Philo, 48, 105 *f.*, 110, 138, 147, 161
Plato, 28, 139, 142
Plotinus, 142
Polytheism, 108, 112
Prayer, 7, 191

Predestination, 123 *f.*, 142, 205 *f.*
Primitive Christian Community, 58, 60, 66 *f.*
"Prophetic" Faith, 5 *ff.*, 38, 195, 234
Propitiation, 28 *f.*, 93, 156, 210
Psychical Research, 8, 21, 199
Pythagoras, 121

Q

Quakers, 6, 36 *f.*, 149

R

Rabbinism, 47, 50, 58
Ramsay, 100, 120
Rashdall, 70, 170, 186
Reitzenstein, 119, 188
Rendall, 59
Resurrection, 16, 20 *f.*, 93 *f.*, 185, 227
"Return to Nature," 7, 55, 57, 228
Revelation, 5, 14, 90, 148 *ff.*, 185, 201

S

Sacramentalism, ritual, 31 *ff.*, 170 *ff.*, 231, 234
Natural, 35, 169, 234
Salvation, 92, 151, 154, 159
Sandan, 51, 115
Schweitzer, 11, 32, 46, 48, 50, 53, 60, 63, 68, 123, 173, 222
Scott, E. F., 49, 119, 126, 129, 223, 226
Second Adventism, 12 *f.*, 17, 45, 227
Origin of, 19, 92, 95, 143, 196
Seeberg, 136
Seneca, 48, 53
Similitudes of Enoch, 95, 119
Social solidarity, 144
(Atonement), 158
(Church), 195
(Problem of inequalities), 207
Socrates, 161
"Son of God," 63
Speech at Athens, 82, 100, 127 *f.*
Spirit, 32, 104, 123, 153, 174, 205
Spiritual intuitions, 6, 15, 20, 96, 136, 200, 220, 234
Stanton, 50
Stephen, 58 *f.*, 63, 72 *f.*, 215
Stoicism, 48, 53 *f.*, 160
Sufferings of Jesus, involved in law of progress, 158
of righteous, 156
"Suggestion," 10, 36, 155, 161, 190, 192
Supernaturalism in Nature, 5, 7, 9, 13. 233 *f.*
Theosophic, 7, 11
Superstition, 37, 173, 179, 189
Swedenborg, 74

T

Tammuz, 115, 186
Tarsus, 46, 51
Taurobolium, 116
Tendencies to Deification, 62 *ff.*, 228
Teresa, 149
Thackeray, St. John, 55, 157
Theosophy, 8 *f.*, 11
Thiasi, 60, 122, 132
Torah, 55 *f.*
Translation into Gentile world, 231
Transubstantiation, 35
Two Ages, 151
Two stages of N.T. belief, 45 *f.*, 68. 96, 224

U

"Unio mystica," 32, 85, 143, 160 (See "Assimilative" faith)
Universalism, 144, 196, 203, 225, 231 *f.*

W

Weinel, 32, 172
Weiss, J., 11, 185
Wellhausen, 42
Wernle, 44, 172
Whitely, 88
Whitman, 144, 195, 204
Whittier, 204, 236
"Wisdom," 55, 103, 107
Woodhouse, 100
World-Rulers of Darkness, 140, 148, 152, 165
Wrede, 32, 40, 134 *f.*, 151, 153, 163, 172 *f.*, 218

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